

Conspiracy against Europe

The Paris Agreements –
A War Plot

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CONSPIRACY AGAINST EUROPE

*The Paris Agreements --
a War Plot*

PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE FOR GERMAN UNITY
Berlin 1955

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This book is a condensed version of the German Book "Vergewörgung gegen Deutschland" published in Berlin in January 1955. Chapters dealing with German sovereignty and the tax burdens entailed by remilitarisation have been omitted for reasons of space. The texts of the Paris Agreements and other official documents are quoted from the official British White Books Cmd. 8571 and Cmd. 9304 published in London by Her Majesty's Stationery Office. A few quotations from English language books and newspapers have been re-translated from German.

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P R E F A C E

On October 23rd 1954 a conference concluded in Paris in which the Foreign Ministers of the USA, Great Britain, France and West Germany had participated, together with the Foreign Ministers of the other North Atlantic Pact States, and signatories of the Brussels Pact of 1948. At this conference a series of agreements were signed, which are known collectively as the "Paris Agreements". They included the following:

1. *The Convention On Relations Between The Three Powers and The Federal Republic Of Germany;*
2. *The Convention On The Presence Of Foreign Forces In The Federal Republic Of Germany;*
3. *Documents Relating To The Revision And Extension Of The Brussels Treaty;*
4. *Documents Relating To The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation;*
5. *The Agreement On The Saar Statute.*

The first and the third treaties included many protocols and lists. In addition the subsidiary agreements of the Bonn Treaty of 1952 such as the "Convention On The Rights And Obligations Of Foreign Forces", the "Finance Convention" and the "Convention On The Settlement Of Matters Arising Out Of The War And Occupation" were included in the Paris Agreements without any far reaching amendments. In addition the Paris Agreements included a whole series of letters dealing with individual subjects, signed by the various Foreign Ministers. The Agreements as a whole are so complicated that it is almost impossible for a layman to make a clear picture of what they entail.

This book is a first attempt to analyse the Paris Agreements and to show the great dangers which they entail for all Germans and all the peoples of Europe. The book was completed at the beginning of January 1955 and does not deal with any of the written and oral secret agreements which form part of the Paris Agreements and which have, so far, been kept secret.

This book is intended to be a contribution to the maintenance of peace in Europe and the reunification of Germany.

Committee for German Unity



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I.

Building a new Hitlerite Army

The main aim of the Paris and London Agreements is to rearm German militarism and turn a remilitarised West Germany into a military camp of the imperialist Western Powers.

It is noteworthy that every effort has been made to camouflage this decisive fact — the creation of a West German Army. Not one of the official documents dealing with the Paris Agreements of October 23rd 1954 gives any definite details about the strength, composition, use, conditions of use, or stationing of the various armed forces. It is therefore necessary to assume that in addition to the published documents there are a series of secret agreements and arrangements, the texts of which have not been published in order not to alarm the people of Europe. The contents of these secret agreements have, however, in the meantime, become known to a considerable extent. The fact that the original texts of these agreements have been kept secret can only lead to the conclusion that the authors of the agreements did not dare to announce to the peoples the full truth about the extent of the planned rearmament of German militarism.

The only indication of the strength of the West German army in the Paris Agreements is to be found in "Protocol No. II on Forces of Western European Union". Article 1, paragraph 1 (a) of this Protocol states that the land and air forces in total strength and number of formations shall not exceed

"For Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, the maxima laid down for peace time in the Special Agreement annexed to the Treaty on the Establishment of a European Defence Community signed at Paris on May 27th 1952."

The maximum numbers laid down in the Special Agreement of May 27th 1952 for the West German army is half a million men including as its core twelve divisions at war strength. This figure was decided upon at the 9th Conference of the Atlantic Council, held in Lisbon on February 20th to 25th 1952. This figure accords with the estimate submitted by the American General Staff in January 1948 through General Lucius Clay, at that time Supreme Allied Commander, to General Marshall, who was then United States Secretary of State. The text of this "Special Agreement" has never been published.

According to the British News Agency Reuter the final communique of the 9th Conference of the Atlantic Council approved the plan for the European Defence Community and the following details were given:

"The long term plan foresees the establishment of a joint ground army consisting of 43 groups (France 14, Italy 12, West Germany 12 and the Benelux States 5 groups). Each group will correspond approximately to a division 13,000 men strong. In case of war each group shall be reinforced by a further 2,000 men. The army corps unit in the planned army will consist of three or possibly four divisions of different nationalities. The air force will be composed of national units. The largest national unit will be a group of 75 planes under the command of a tactical headquarters..."

("Keesing's Contemporary Archives", German Edition, February 26th 1952, page 3362)

As the Protocol already quoted on the so-called Western European Union shows, these figures have not been changed. By granting twelve divisions to West Germany, German militarism has been given a free hand to re-establish itself.

What is Militarism?

Militarism is the subjugation of the entire life of the nation, in economic, political, social and ideological fields to the all-powerful command of an imperialist military machine, in order to subject other nations by military force and include their countries in the sphere of domination of the first country.

Militarism is disdain for the national sovereignty of other nations and for the principles of international law and international treaties. Militarism regards as its supreme principle "Power is the real law". In militarist philosophy war is the "ultima ratio", the final decision which it recognises and praises. Examples of the way in which this power principle has been put into practice were given by the attack on Belgium in 1914, the attack on Austria in 1938, the attacks on Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1939, on Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway in 1940 and on Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in 1941.

The direct expression of this power principle in practical politics is the so-called "policy of strength" which consists of constant threats in the diplomatic field with a loaded gun.

Militarism is the ideology of "armed peace" as it was described by General Hasso von Manteuffel, deputy of the Free Democratic Party, in the West German Parliament on December 16th 1954, using the old recipe "Si vis pacem, para bellum — if you want peace prepare for war".

Nowhere else in the world has the concentration of military power in the state such deep and tough roots as in Germany with the admiration for military acts of force and the permeation of all forms of public life — in

factory, office, school, church, science, universities, film and public morals, with the spirit of militarism. That is why the slightest attempt to revive militarism in Germany has such particularly great dangers.

Prussian-German militarism is internationally and historically recognised as more brutal, inimical to people and culture, more conscienceless, aggressive and warlike than any other form of militarism in Europe. Prussian-German militarism entails unbounded disregard for human life and human dignity. It entails the unconditional admiration for military power and acts of force in the service of an imperialist policy of conquest.

For German militarists political decisions should not be made as a result of the sovereign will of the people but by the military forces and the caste which dominates these forces. General Hasso von Manteuffel, speaking in the West German Parliament on December 16th 1954, described these military forces and the controlling caste as

"the real element of order in the state".

Prussian-German militarism entails scorn and derision for the broad masses of the people as "shabby civilians", while the officer is regarded as the sole reservoir of honour and courage and, therefore, claims for himself a special social position and special social rights. This entails a trampling by military boots on all democratic civil rights. It entails the unscrupulous and brutal suppression of working people as the "inferior mass" and naturally the suppression of workers' organisations and in particular the revolutionary working class party. Prussian militarism has only one principle and that is "I am the State".

Another special feature of German militarism is psychological hatred for the Slav peoples (Poles, Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, etc.) and its disdainful arrogance for the Romance nations (French, Belgians and Italians) which are regarded as decadent and inferior. This arrogant attitude of superiority is also directed against all other nations.

The call of the beaten Hitlerite generals for the establishment of new divisions which they can command arises from this spirit of force and lust for power, exemplified in the phrases "policy of strength" and "armed peace". They want these new divisions in West Germany to be raised in this spirit. West German Chancellor Adenauer declared in a Government declaration on December 15th 1954 that militarism was dead, but this was a deliberate attempt to mislead the world. German militarism is not dead. Its organisation and its spirit are being revived to-day in West Germany. The proofs of this are given in the following pages.

The Old Spirit of 1914 and 1939

The "spirit" of the army to be raised in West Germany under the Paris Agreements was defined extremely clearly by former Field Marshall Ritter von Leeb in the introductory words to the "German Soldier's Calender 1955", published by the "Schild-Verlag" in Munich, West Germany. He

stated quite openly that it should have the same spirit as the Hitlerite army and Kaiser Wilhelm's army. In his introduction he stated:

"In two world wars the German soldier fought against a world of enemies...

"To-day we stand on the threshold of the integration of West Germany in the Defence Community of the free world. A new and younger generation is called to the colours. We old soldiers can only wish and hope that this new young troop will be filled with the same spirit of faithfulness, sacrifice, comradeship, of holding out and of readiness for sacrifice as the soldiers who in the last two world wars bore the weapons and gave their strength."

(See photocopy amongst illustrations to this book)

This declaration cannot be regarded as the particular idiocy of a single unteachable Hitlerite General. It is in fact the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the former Hitlerite generals in West Germany who have been designated for new military tasks. The "German Soldier's Calendar" is the official organ of the "Association of German Soldiers" and of the other militarist and para-militarist association, such as the Kyffhäuser Bund (Headquarters in Wiesbaden); the Stahlhelm (Headquarters in Bonn-Beuel, Com-bahnstrasse 4); the German Naval Association (Wilhelmshaven, Klinkerburg 26); Luftwaffenring (Gersfeld-Rhön); HIAG (the Mutual Aid Association of former members of the Waffen SS); and the so-called "Old Comrades Associations" which already number over 700. Ritter von Leeb speaks in the name of these associations and what he says applies to the Wehrmacht planned in the Paris Agreements, the officers' cadres for which will be drawn from the leading sections of these associations.

Any number of quotations could be given from the speeches and writings of former Hitlerite Generals in the same spirit as the declaration made by former Field Marshall von Leeb.

For instance General Rudolf Konrad, former Commander of the 49th Mountain Corps, now a member of the Officers' Group of the "Europa Union" and Chairman of the "Association of Former Mountain Troops" declared in Munich at a Soldiers' Rally on May 17th 1953:

"In the new uniform we must have the same men as before... We can do without any other sort of soldiers."

At the same rally Hubert Lanz, former General of the 1st Mountain Division and to-day leader of the Old Comrades Association of the Division, who lives at Lichtenau near Miesbach in Bavaria stated:

"When a new army is formed to-day then it should look like our old division did."

In July 1953 former Infantry General Stäpf, to-day a member of the Officers' Group of Europa Union and Bavarian Chairman of the German Soldiers Association declared at a military rally in Bamberg:

"Democracy stops at the door of the barracks."

In June 1953 General Gille of the Waffen SS stated at an SS rally in Alzey:

"We have the right to speak of Europe since we have already put the European idea into effect in our ranks and on the field of battle."

In his introduction to the book written by former SS Oberstgruppen-führer Hauser "Waffen SS in Action", Colonel General Heinz Guderian, who has since died, had this to say about the Waffen SS:

"We should never forget that the European idea was first put into practice in this troop and that bonds were forged between the nations which should never have been destroyed."

Members of the West German Provincial Parliaments speak the same language as these old militarists. Lothar Steuer, deputy of the Free Democratic Party in North-Rhine Westphalia, formerly Nazi deputy in the Reichstag and to-day district leader of the Stahlhelm, declared at a rally of Stahlhelm leaders in Recklinghausen on August 30th 1954:

"We want to restore the old spirit to the German people — the spirit of the Japanese and the Prussians. All talk about a democratic army is nonsense. We need the Prussian system, the system which produced hard and tough soldiers. The soldier must once again become the first estate in the Reich. If the world wants our soldiers, then we must be allowed to train them in our way."

In the new Wehrmacht the same spirit of brutish obedience should be imposed as in the Hitlerite army. On March 15th 1954 the "Ketteler Wacht", the organ of the Catholic workers' associations in West Germany stated under the headline "Soldiers of Christ":

"Soldiers of Christ must show in these times what they can do. Whether a man needs to fast or not, he must grow in three soldierly virtues — obedience, faithfulness and courage. Soldierly obedience is shown by carrying out conscientiously every order without asking why this order is given or what is its purpose."

This means that soldiers in West Germany should not have the right of moral decision as to whether the cause for which they should fight is good or bad. Anyone announcing such a principle shows that he knows that his cause is bad. This declaration is in fact an appeal to carry out unconditionally every crime. It is precisely similar to the criminal nazi slogan "The Führer commands, we obey".

All efforts in the Blank Office, the camouflaged West German War Ministry, are concentrated more and more upon creating an army in accordance with this principle which shall be trained in brutish obedience. The chief proponent of this tendency is Colonel Bogislav von Bonin, former member of Hitler's General Staff, who formerly worked in the Planning Department in the Blank Office. The spokesman of this policy is a certain Werner Picht, who published a number of militaristic works during the

Hitler period and later, such as "The Transformation of the Fighter" (1938), "The Soldierly Man" (1940), "The Nature of War and German Warfare" (1952). Herr Picht has now published a new book "Rearmament" (published by Günther Neske, Pfullingen 1954). One passage in this book states:

"... He (the soldier) is differentiated (from the citizen) by the fact that his place of trade is the fighting front, a death factory, and that his trade is to take life and to sacrifice his life. This sacrifice... is not an accident of work but a priori the content of soldierly existence. The soldier is a person who no longer disposes over his own life. He has abandoned the supreme human and civilian right... Absolute war... ends with a far reaching destruction of life..."

"A troop which regards its main duty as preventing a battle through its very existence (which for this purpose would have to be trained in sabre rattling) cannot take itself seriously. Such a training is just as useless as tactical training which only envisages defensive fighting."

This passage expresses quite clearly that the planned West German army would not be there to "prevent a battle" that is to say to guard peace, but to prepare for war, a war of aggression.

The former Major Friedrich von Stülpnagel who has particularly close connections with the Blank Office has made the same demands in Number 10/1954 of the Magazine "Wehrkunde", published by the Society for Military Science — Hans Reinhardt, Vollrath von Hellermann, Eberhard Graf von Nostiz, Friedrich Ruge, Hans Georg von Seidel in Munich. In this article he stated:

"The war in question cannot be won by the use of principles as a result of which the enemy is 'no longer the embodiment of evil' and in which the soldiers feels himself 'morally allied' with the enemy..."

What does this mean? It means no more and no less than that every citizen of the countries of the camp of peace, who defends his homeland, should be regarded as "the embodiment of evil", so that it is right to use every form of force against him. This means not only that the millions of murders of Soviet prisoners of war and civilians, which were committed by Hitler's Gestapo and SS, should be post facto glorified. It means that similar crimes should be committed once again in the new war planned against the East and that these crimes should be even more terrible than in 1941/45. Such an incitement to murder is not directed only against Poles, citizens of the Soviet Union and so on but also against the citizens of the German Democratic Republic. The aim is direct training in crime, since Stülpnagel continues:

"In view of the potential enemy the training of the young recruits and the training of the officers and non-commissioned officers, including the reservists, will have to be considerably stricter than in, let us say, 1935... No official quarters in our Federal Republic should make promises to the young recruits that they will have an easy time during their

military service. There can be no doubt that service in the new army will be far more exerting and difficult than it was before, since it will consist mainly of fighting and shooting service."

Such comments cannot be dismissed as unofficial comments by outsiders. Dr. Adenauer's newspaper the "Rheinischer Merkur" in an article published on December 10th 1954 under the title "Uneasiness of rearmament — ethics, soldiers and officers in the future army" demanded that the unconditional readiness to die should be the basis of the training of the new mercenary Wehrmacht in West Germany. This article, signed by Curt Hohoff, stated:

"The new army is threatened with destruction before it is formed by pseudo-democratic ideas of democracy. There is no democracy in any army on earth. There is only order and obedience round the clock."

To-day the militarists in the West German Parliament have advanced so far that they can proclaim quite openly that the Hitlerite Army was the pattern for a "democratic army". Hasso von Manteuffel, former Hitlerite General who is now a deputy of the Free Democratic Party, stated in the West German Parliament on December 16th 1954:

"In the last war the distinction between officer and soldier was in no army so small as in the German army. ('Hear, hear' from the Government benches) . . . The close relationship between the officer and the soldier was indeed one of the reasons for the strength to carry on even at a time when a large proportion of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men regarded their cause as already lost, in so far as they were able to assess the situation. I believe we should have reached a stage now that we do not need to bluff our enemies by explaining the strength to resist of the German soldier in the last war by stating that a man from the Gestapo was standing behind every German soldier."

Thus the former Hitlerite General von Manteuffel regards the Hitlerite army as the most democratic army in the second world war and holds it up as a pattern for the new Wehrmacht. The talk in West Germany about a "democratic army" is shown to be simply bait for political babes in arms in order to lure them on to the battlefield and expose them to destruction.

The purpose of the Paris Agreements and the re-establishment of the power of the German militarists is to couple the brutal spirit of aggression and destruction exemplified in the Hitlerite Wehrmacht with the imperialist spirit of expansion of the United States. An obedient military machine in West Germany should be equipped with American weapons in order to launch, from West Germany, a third world war.

The "New York Times" of April 17th 1953, in an article by Hanson Baldwin, confirmed the aggressive purpose of the West German army. The paper stated:

"Thus roughly one-half of the proposed new German Army would be essentially offensive in character, highly mobile and equipped and trained to utilize armor as the spearhead of attack."

Adalbert Weinstein, formerly a member of the General Staff of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht, stated in a leading article in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" on December 2nd 1954 that the West German army should be a "dynamic" force with the task of carrying out offensive operations. He wrote:

"What we, and the West, really need would be small, highly mobile, practically only armoured units with very high fire power which might be called divisions but which would not correspond with the old type of divisions. Their characteristic must be that they consist of many tanks and still more anti-tank forces. Their task would be rapid and determined action."

This exposes particularly clearly the very aggressive character of the West German army.

This has been confirmed by the former Colonel Kentner from Wiesbaden, member of the Society for Military Science. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" quoted him on December 6th 1954 as stating with regard to the planned West German units:

"The set-up and the training should be strict and exemplary and should be based above all upon experiences from the Eastern front..."

Hitler's General Staff in Command again

History has shown that in Germany the General Staff has always been the crystallisation point for aggressive nationalists. The General Staff has worked out the plans for aggression and has organised the para-military and military mobilisation of the entire nation. The General Staff has formed the centre for the militarisation of the economy. The Paris Agreements give the militarists in West Germany the chance of recreating this centre of aggression.

Since 1950 the Blank Office has been laying the foundation for the re-establishment of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht and General Staff. The West German newspaper "Nürnberger Nachrichten" stated on October 6th 1954

"The reason that so soon after the end of the London Conference it is possible to speak in such detail about the planned German army is to be found in the fact that the Blank Office, which is still officially called 'Office of the Federal Government for Questions connected with the Expansion of Allied Troops' has carried out since 1950 all necessary preliminary work for the new army. For the past three years the German divisions have been lying in the safes of the Blank Office at 105 Argelanderstrasse in Bonn, waiting for X-Day, when the new German divisions can officially be raised. It will not be long before the bugle is sounded for X-Day and the forces which have so far existed only on paper are converted into flesh and blood, arms and soldiers, tanks and planes."

The core of the future General Staff has already been established in the Blank Office, the West German War Ministry, which already has a staff of over 1000. The name given to this General Staff has little to do with the case. In the trial of the main war criminals at the International Military Court in Nuremberg it was stated:

"The nature of a General Staff . . . depends not upon the name which it is given but upon the functions which it performs."

(Official Report, Volume IV, page 437, German Edition)

The future West German War Ministry is at present constituted as follows:

D i r e c t o r a t e :

Director: Theodor Blank, First Lieutenant, Retired.

Deputy: W. Holtz, Ministerial Director

Press Officer: H. Guhr, Major

Chief Interpreter: O. Monin

D e p a r t m e n t I — C e n t r a l D e p a r t m e n t

Files: Batasta

Statistics: K. Passow

Personal Files: Kaminsky

D e p a r t m e n t I I — M i l i t a r y D e p a r t m e n t

Director: A. Heusinger, Lieutenant General

Sub-Department: Military Political Questions: Count Kielmannsegg, Colonel

Sub-Department: Military Planning: K. Fett, Colonel

Sub-Department: Inner Structure: von Baudissin, Major

(Sub-Department: Military Planning is sub-divided in the following planning staffs)

Army-Director: Speidel, Lieutenant General

Luftwaffe-Director: Heuser, Colonel

Navy-Director: Zenker, Captain

D e p a r t m e n t I I I — L e g a l a n d E c o n o m i c Q u e s t i o n s

Director: Dr. Barth, Ministerial Director

D e p a r t m e n t I V — A c c o m o d a t i o n a n d R e a l E s t a t e

Director: Dr. Loosch, Lieutenant General

D e p a r t m e n t V — P r o c u r e m e n t

Director: Dr. Rentrop, Ministerial Director

Counter-Espionage

Director: E. Hebeler, Police Councillor

Long before the Paris Agreements were signed the Blank Office, together with other West German Government Offices, had worked out the drafts of the laws necessary for the remilitarisation of West Germany. These laws were:

1. The Recruiting Law,
2. The Conscription Law,
3. The Federal Procurement Law,
4. The Supply Law,
5. The Land Requisitioning Law,
6. The Military Criminal Code,
7. The Disciplinary Regulations for the troops.

Immediately after the London Conference at the beginning of October 1954 reinforced planned work was undertaken by the Blank Office. In particular the "Military Personnel Commission" headed by General Kuntzen, former Personnel Director of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht, began with the selection of the leading officers from the rank of Colonel upwards for the West German Army. The Blank Office had done the necessary ground work in this connection and nominated the following persons, amongst others, for the leading posts in the new Hitlerite Army:

Dr. Erich Mende

(Parliamentary State Secretary in the future War Ministry)

Member of the Free Democratic Party in the West German Parliament. Enlisted in 1936 in the Nazi Wehrmacht. Was decorated with the Knights' Cross for his participation as Major and Regimental Commander in Hitler's War of Conquest. Since 1948 he has been the legal adviser of the Employers Association in Opladen, representing the interests of the monopolists. He has been particularly active in calling for the release of imprisoned war criminals. On November 17th 1953 the "Nationalzeitung", Basel, Switzerland, wrote about Dr Mende under the title "Much Forgotten and Nothing Learned" in these words:

"This is true of Dr. Mende, young deputy of the Free Democratic Party who has specialised in the field of care for war criminals as a holder of the Knights' Cross and former officer. Mende has also called for permission to wear again the decorations for valour, won in the service of Hitler and, *faute de mieux*, with the little swastikas still on them.

When Mende is attacked as a nationalist abroad, this must be ascribed to his curious hobbies, which include the appeal for the 'Recreation of Prussia', an appeal which he launched at the Congress of the Free Democratic Party in North Rhine Westphalia, held at Cologne."

Johann Adolf, Count Kielmannsegg
(Military State Secretary in the future War Ministry)

Since 1951 Kielmannsegg has headed the Military-Political Department of the Blank Office, collaborating closely with Generals Speidel and Heusinger. He is the nephew of Colonel General von Fritsch and joined a cavalry regiment of the Reichswehr in 1926. He passed through the War Academy and worked in the Army Directorate. After 1934 he served as Major and later as Lieutenant Colonel in Hitler's tank troops. During the second world war he occupied a leading position in the Operation Department of the Supreme Command of the Army. In this position he participated in working out all the plans of aggression against Germany's neighbours. From 1944 until the end of the war he led a tank regiment.

In the Nuremberg trial of the main war criminals, former SS Brigade Führer Ernst Rode testified that Kielmannsegg and Heusinger had taken part in discussions at which it was decided to take draconic measures against partisans. Rode stated quite definitely that the Supreme Command of the Army had then "given the necessary orders" in this connection. (Official Report, Volume IV, page 523, German Edition.) As is well known these orders led to the cold-blooded murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent persons, to the shooting of hostages and arson.

This background destined Kielmannsegg, together with Speidel and Heusinger, to participate as a member of the delegation led by Blank in the first negotiations on the rearmament of West Germany. In April 1951 he took part as an expert of the Blank Office in the Paris negotiations on the creation of the so-called European Army.

Ludwig Cruewell
(Supreme Commander of the future Army)

Cruewell is an old style Prussian militarist. After the military defeat of 1918 he was transferred from the Kaiser's army to the Reichswehr and played a leading part in the establishment of the illegal "Black Reichswehr". As a member of the General Staff he was promoted by Hitler in 1939 to the rank of Major General. In 1940 he took over the command of a tank division which took part in the attack on Yugoslavia and was guilty there of ruthless crimes against the population. In 1942 Hitler promoted him to full general and gave him command of the tank-corps in Africa. In the same year he was taken prisoner by the British. Cruewell avoided punishment for his war crimes since the British Government rejected a deportation application made by the Yugoslav Government.

Cruewell is to-day Chairman of the "Association of Former Members of the German Africa Corps" and in this capacity has gathered together all the militarist elements who served under him in Africa, for the purpose of rearmament.

Adolf Heusinger

(Chief of Staff of the future army)

Heusinger has served German militarism for forty years. In 1915 he joined the Kaiser's army as a cadet and was transferred to the Reichswehr in 1918. In 1931 he became a Captain and joined the Army Command, the body which played the role of the General Staff during the Weimar Republic. He remained a member of the General Staff until 1944. As Chief of the Operations Department Heusinger worked out the plan for the attacks on Germany's neighbours and Hitler promoted him to Lieutenant General in 1943 for his work.

Giving evidence to the International Court in Nuremberg, Heusinger made the following admission:

"It was always my personal view that the treatment of the civilian population in the area of operations, and the methods used in fighting bandits in the area of operations, gave the supreme political and military leadership a welcome opportunity to carry out their aims of systematically reducing the Slavs and the Jews."

Although Heusinger was aware of this aim he carried out Hitler's orders and used the Nazi jargon of describing the resistance fighters as "bandits". In the Nuremberg War Criminals Trial the American Prosecutor, Colonel Taylor, stated that the "declarations given under oath by the generals Röttiger, Rode and Heusinger confirm that the entire plan of 'pacification' was clearly understood by all German military leaders". (Official Report, Volume XXII, page 331, German Edition). This plan of "pacification" entailed the systematic liquidation and expulsion of the civilian population and the burning of towns and villages.

When the West German de facto War Ministry was created in 1950 under the camouflage title of "Office for the Accommodation of Occupation Troops", the Hitlerite General Heusinger was one of the first to join it. In January 1951 he had secret military talks in Bonn with British and American officers at which it was decided to re-establish the Hitlerite Wehrmacht.

Heusinger defined his strategic views for the use of the recreated Hitlerite Wehrmacht in an article published in the "Bonner Hefte" on October 10th 1953. In this article he stated:

" . . . Attack wherever there is a chance for this. This is the fighting method with which the West should face the East . . . This is particularly true for the naval and airforces. Only such an elastic method of making war can bring prospects of success . . ."

On December 15th 1954 the "New York Times" had this to say about Heusinger:

"Three years from now the most modern and efficient army in Europe will probably be the German. It will be organised in small divisions each split into three regimental combat teams ready for any task . . ."

GENERALFELDMARSCHALL RITTER VON LEEB

GELEITWORT



Heute stehen wir vor der Einbeziehung Westdeutschlands in die Verteidigungsgemeinschaft der freien Welt. Eine neue jüngere Generation ist aufgerufen. Wir alten Soldaten können nur wünschen und hoffen, daß diese neue junge Truppe von dem gleichen Geist der Treue, der Hingabe, der Kameradschaft, des Durchhaltens und der Opferbereitschaft beseelt sein möge wie die Soldaten, die in den zurückliegenden beiden Weltkriegen die Waffen getragen und sich eingesetzt haben.

Hohenschwangau, im Juli 1954.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Leeb".

Here is the introduction to the "German Soldiers' Calendar for 1955", written by Hitlerite Field Marshal Ritter von Leeb:

"Today we stand on the threshold of the integration of West Germany in the defence community of the free world. A new and younger generation is called to the colours. We old soldiers can only wish and hope that this new young troop will be filled with the same spirit of faithfulness, sacrifice, comradeship, of holding out and of readiness for sacrifice as the soldiers who in the last two world wars bore the weapons and gave their strength."

Field Marshal von Leeb served under Hitler as commander in chief in France, Poland and the Soviet Union. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment in 1948 for crimes against humanity in the trial of the German Supreme Command at Nuremberg. Brigadier Taylor, US Prosecutor, declared that Leeb was one of those "who has become a criminal and a murderer in consistent continuation of the unhappy tradition of the German officers' corps".

März

Jedes Opfer trägt seine geheime, oft an sehr entferntem Orte und in sehr ferner Zeit sichtbar werdende Frucht.

Ernst Jünger

X

Datum	Wochen-	Sonnen-		G e d e n k t ä g e	
	tage	Aufg.	Untg.		
1	Di	7.09	18.01	13 40	1935 Rückkehr des Saarlandes 1689 Heidelberg durch Franzosen zerstört
2	Mi	7.07	18.03		1918 Friede von Brest-Litowsk
3	Do	7.05	18.05		1917 Eroberung der Vauxkreuz-Höhe
4	Fr	7.03	18.06		1918 Besetzung von Livland und Estland
5	Sa	7.01	18.08		
6	So	6.59	18.10		1898 Vertrag Deutschl.-China über Kiautschou — 1919 Aufstellung der Reichswehr
7	Mo	6.56	18.11		1941 Günther Prien gef.
8	Di	6.54	18.13	16.41	1864 Preuß.-österl. Einmarsch in Dänemark — 1917 Graf Zeppelin gest.
9	Mi	6.52	18.15		1888 Kaiser Wilhelm I. gest.
10	Do	6.50	18.16		1776 Königin Luise geb. — 1815 Stiftung des Eisernen Kreuzes durch Friedrich Wilhelm III.
11	Fr	6.48	18.18		1917 Schlacht bei Monastir. Räumung Bagdads — 1938 Einmarsch in Österreich
12	Sa	6.46	18.19		
13	So	6.43	18.21		1920 Kapp-Putsch
14	Mo	6.41	18.23		1899 Errichtung d. Admiralsl. d. Marine — 1920 Deutscher Abstimmungssieg II. Zone Nordschleswig
15	Di	6.39	18.25		933 Sieg Heinrich I. in der Ungarnschlacht — 1939 Einnahme Tschechoslowakei — 1943 Kharkow zurückerobert
16	Mi	6.37	18.26	17.36	1935 Wiedereinführung d. allg. Wehrpflicht
17	Do	6.34	18.28		1813 Aufruf "An mein Volk" durch Friedr. Wilhelm III.
18	Fr	6.32	18.30		1915 Kapit. v. Weddicens Untergang — 1915 Schlacht bei Gallipoli — 1945 Kolberg verloren
19	Sa	6.30	18.32	St.-Jos.-Tag	1849 Großadmiral v. Tirpitz geb.
20	So	6.27	18.33		1870 Gen. v. Lettow-Vorbeck geb. — 1921 Ab- stimmung in Oberschlesien
21	Mo	6.25	18.35	Frühl.-Anf.	1918 Große Schlacht in Frankreich
22	Di	6.23	18.37		1797 Kaiser Wilhelm I. geb. — 1939 Rückkehr des Memellandes
23	Mi	6.20	18.38		
24	Do	6.18	18.40	4.42	1865 Kiel preußischer Kriegshafen
25	Fr	6.16	18.42		
26	Sa	6.14	18.44		
27	So	6.11	18.45		1945 Letzter V-2-Schuß gegen Großbritannien
28	Mo	6.09	18.47		1884 Gründung der deutschen Kolonialgesell- schaft durch Karl Peters
29	Di	6.07	18.48		
30	Mi	6.05	18.50	21.10	1945 Danzig verloren
31	Do	6.02	18.51		1940 "Atlantis" verläßt als erster Hilfskreuzer des 2. Weltkrieges die Heimat

A page from the "German Soldiers' Calendar 1955", published in West Germany. The passages marked, from top to bottom, are: A quotation from pro-nazi author Ernst Juenger. 1689 Heidelberg destroyed by the French. 1917 Vauxkreuz Heights stormed (by German imperial troops). 1888 Kaiser Wilhelm died. 1917 Battle near Monastir . . . 1938 March into Austria. 1920 Kapp Putsch. 1939 March into Czechoslovakia . . . 1943 Kharkov recaptured. 1935 Reintroduction of conscription. 1849 Grand Admiral von Tirpitz born. 1918 Great battle in France. 1945 Last V 2 shot at Great Britain. 1884 Karl Peters founds German Colonial Society."



"Der Frontsoldat erzaehlt" (The Frontline Soldier Recounts), a military monthly published by the Pressa Verlag, Flensburg, West Germany. This paper tells its readers that the German soldier was unconquerable, that the French and Italians are degenerate civilians, and that the days of 1939-1945 will soon come again.



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Deutsches Reich 1933—1945



Bundesrepublik

(Left) Advertisements from the "German Soldiers' Calendar 1955" offering to buy and sell medals (above left), and publicising books by Adolf Galland, nazi Luftwaffe general, and other fascist soldiers.

(Right) A page from the "German Soldiers' Calendar 1955" showing "The German Eagle in its Historical Development."

Yesterday - War Criminals



Kesselring

Bodenschatz

Göring

Speidel

Oberbefehlshaber der Luftwaffe und Chef Luftflotte 2 beobachten an der Kanalküste Anflug zum ersten Großangriff gegen kriegswichtige Anlagen im Großraum London

Today - Allies



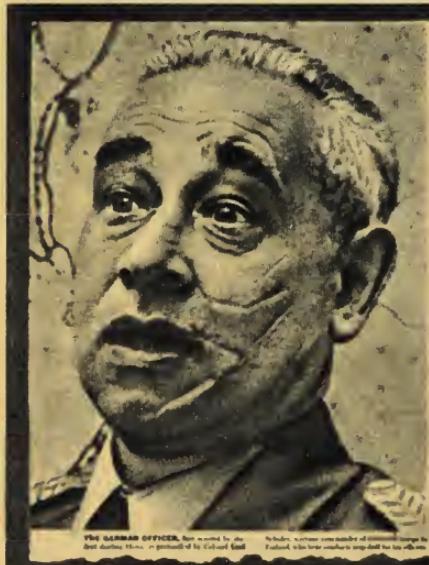
(Above) A picture from Nazi Field Marshal Kesselring's book "Soldiers to the Last", published in West Germany. The caption of these pictures states: "Supreme Commander of the Luftwaffe and the Chief of Airfleet 2 watch from the Channel coast the planes flying out to the first mass attack on military installations in the London area".

(Left) Kesselring (centre) was received at the American airfield Fuerstenfeldbrueck, West Germany, by US Colonel Armstrong (left) on February 6th 1954. Colonel Armstrong presented Kesselring with a cake decorated with marzipan jet fighters, iced with the words "To the old eagle". Kesselring was the man mainly responsible for the air attacks on Britain in 1940, and was sentenced to death after the Second World War by a British Military Court for the murder of many hundreds of Italian hostages, including men, women and children. He is today President of the "Stahlhelm", a right-wing veterans' organisation which cooperated with Hitler in overthrowing the Weimar Republic.

Three pictures from the American illustrated "Life", October 1954. They show episodes from the activities of the West German "Frontier Force", which is in fact the cadre training force for the new Wehrmacht. The original captions to the pictures are given.



The German trooper, looking like an old professional, stares across the manoeuvre grounds, his face blackened for camouflage. Many former Wehrmacht officers serve the Bundesgrenzschutz (Federal Frontier Force) as sergeants.



THE GERMAN OFFICER, face scarred by student duelling scars, is personified by Captain Emil Schulter, wartime commander of mountain troops in Finland, who here conducts map drill for his officers.



In gleaming helmets like those worn by the Wehrmacht, Bundesgrenzschutz troops on field manoeuvres march through a town gate at Coburg, as young Germans turn out to watch.

The German officer, face scarred by student duelling scars, is personified by Captain Emil Schulter, wartime commander of mountain troops in Finland, who here conducts map drill for his officers.

Achtung! Sie verlassen ...



Unser schönes Berlin — heute und einst. Möge bald der Tag kommen, wo derartige Schilder verschwinden und auf dem Brandenburger Tor keine rote Fahne mehr weht



A page from the West German militarist magazine "Der Frontsoldat erzaehlt", March 1954. The top picture shows the Brandenburg Tor today, with a notice saying "In 70 metres you leave West Berlin", and the bottom picture shows Hitler's soldiers parading through the Brandenburg Tor a few years ago.

The caption states: "Our lovely Berlin — today and as it once was. May the day soon come when such notices vanish, and no red flag flies over the Brandenburg Tor".



It is X-hour on A-day (May 10th 1940, 5.35 a.m.) Pioneer troops uproot the road obstructions on the other side of the frontier.



This was what remained of the Rotterdam Old City when the fire had finally been extinguished.



The German Luftwaffe had completely destroyed the harbour installations. The British drove lorries, one beside the other, into the sea in order to reach their transports.

The pictures on this page, and the captions, are taken from the book "44 Tage und Nächte — Der Westfeldzug 1940" (44 Days and Nights — the 1940 Campaign in the West) by P. C. Ettinghofer, Veritas Verlag Stuttgart, West Germany, 1953. The book is one long hymn of praise of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht and the crimes which it committed against the French, Belgian, Dutch and British peoples.

"All commanders will be trained to a higher degree of efficiency than ever before. Every soldier and every officer will carry with him a spade in order to dig hasty shelter from possible atomic bombardment. Uniforms will be fabricated from noninflammable material and the steel used in helmets will be immunized against radioactivity . . .

"This is the dream of the man who will almost certainly be the next German Chief of Staff, Lieut. Gen. Adolf Heusinger . . ."

At present this man is Chief of the Military Department in the Blank Office.

Dr. Hans Speidel

(Liaison General between the future West German Army and NATO)

Speidel is a typical representative of aggressive German militarism. He served as a regular officer in the Reichswehr and was promoted by Hitler to the rank of Lieutenant General. He is acknowledged to be a "specialist" for France. In this capacity he was sent by Hitler, after 1933, to serve as assistant to the German Military Attaché in the Nazi Embassy in Paris. The Nazi Militarist Attachés in Paris engaged in espionage and organised the Fifth Column in the French Officers Corps, which played such a large part in the speedy capitulation of France in 1940.

In 1940 Speidel served on the General Staff of the IX Army Corps in the war against France and then took the post of Chief of Staff to the German Military Commander in France.

Later in the war Speidel served as an officer of the General Staff with Army Group B in the Ukraine, where he made full use of the tactic of "scorched earth". Under his orders the fascist troops burned down the towns and villages as they retreated; they destroyed schools, hospitals and houses of culture and massacred the civilian population.

After the war West German Chancellor Adenauer sent Speidel to Paris to serve as the chief military delegate of the West German delegation to the interim committee of the European Defence Community.

Gerhard, Count von Schwerin

(designated for a "leading post of command" in the new West German army)

Schwerin served as an officer in the Kaiser's army in the first world war. After the military defeat in 1918 he visited Poland and Rumania as adviser to an oil firm. In 1923 he became an officer in the Reichswehr. Before the outbreak of the second world war he served as major in the department "Foreign Armies" of the General Staff and helped to work out the plans for aggression. In 1930 he visited the United States to investigate military developments there. During the war he commanded the "Windhund" Panzer Grenadier Division on various fronts, but particularly on the Eastern front.

In the districts of Volkov and Mius in the Soviet Union the "Wind-hund" division committed many war crimes. Schwerin, the commander of the division, was decorated by Hitler with the highest military decorations.

After 1945 Schwerin became the first military adviser to West German Chancellor Adenauer and on orders from Adenauer he negotiated in April 1950 with military and political leaders in London on the re-establishment of a German Wehrmacht. At that time Schwerin headed a special office under the camouflage name of "Economic Research Department". On November 13th 1950 the "Essener Kurier" reported that Schwerin had addressed to the Allied High Commission a Memorandum on the armament of the West German Mobile Police, recommending that this police force should be equipped with mines and tanks.

In July 1950 he was dismissed because he had spoken too openly about the plans for rearming West Germany. He then became "inspector" of the "German Service Organisation" in the British zone, a para-military body 10,000 man strong.

Smilo, Freiherr von Lüttwitz

(designated as army corps commander in the new West German army)

Lüttwitz is a close relation of the infamous General Lüttwitz who in 1920, together with Kapp, launched the putsch against the Weimar Republic. During the nazi period Lüttwitz was promoted to the rank of General and commanded a division. The Polish Government has requested his extradition to answer for the war crimes he committed in Poland. He serves at present in the personnel commission of the Blank Office which has the task of selecting the "right" officers for the higher posts of command. Lüttwitz's official post today is manager of the first aid department of the Evangelic order of St. John.

Wend von Wietersheim

(designated as army corps commander in the new West German army)

In the second world war he commanded the notorious SS "Ghost Division" which served in 1941/42 on the central sector of Eastern front and in 1943 in the Ukraine. This division was particularly noted for its terrorism against the civilian population. The crimes committed under Wietersheim's command have been the subject of a number of war criminal trials in the Soviet Union.

Maximilian, Freiherr von Edelsheim

(designated as army corps commander in the new West German army)

Edelsheim was promoted by Hitler to the rank of General. After the end of the second world war he continued his military activity in the "Society for Military Science" in Munich. This Society for Military Science is a gathering point for Hitlerite officers, particularly from the General Staff, and occupies itself with working out a new military-strategic theoretical basis for the aggressive plans of German militarism.

Rudolf Christoph, Freiherr von Gersdorff

(designated as army corps commander or as director of military intelligence in the new West German army)

Gersdorff served in the second world war as Major General and Chief of the Secret Service on the central sector of the Eastern front. In Nuremberg a witness testified that Gersdorff had taken part in a discussion with Heydrich at which the mass liquidation of peaceful citizens of the Soviet Union was decided upon. (Official Report, Volume XXI, page 429 et seq., German Edition)

Kurt Zenker

(designated as Chief of the new West German Navy)

Zenker is a close relative of the Admiral Zenker who had to leave the service in 1928 because of his part in a corruption affair connected with armaments orders. During the nazi period Zenker worked in the Supreme Naval Operations Department. In the Blank Office he is the Director of the naval sub-department.

Gerhard Panitzki

(designated as Chief of the new West German tactical air force)

Panitzki served in the Hitlerite army as Lieutenant Colonel in the General Staff. After 1945 he helped to organise the reconstruction of the planning departments of the air plane firms Heinkel, Messerschmitt and Fokke-Wulf and founded various institutes for "air research" which serve the purpose of planning a new Luftwaffe. At present Panitzki works in the subdepartment "Luftwaffe" in the Blank Office.

And here are some other people who are playing a leading role in West Germany in the reconstruction of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht and its General Staff.

Kurt Fett

At discussions in Paris Fett was named chairman of a group of General Staff officers from six West European nations. He is the son of General Fett and shortly before the end of the second world war he was promoted Colonel and given the post of Chief of Organisation of the nazi army. Since the end of November 1953 he has headed the planning department in the Blank Office.

Gerhard Matzky

Matzky commands the West German frontier troops and he has publicly demanded that the strength of this force should be raised to 60,000. He entered the German Imperial Army in 1912. From 1924 to 1929 he was a member of the staff of the Reichswehr and worked later in the Reichswehr Ministry. From 1928 to 1929 he was military adviser to the German del-

egation to the League of Nations. In 1938/39 Hitler appointed him Military Attaché in Tokio. In 1943 he commanded the XXVI Army Corps on the Eastern front. After 1945 he was employed by the American army and was a member of the Liaison Staff of the para-military "labour units" attached to the US army of occupation.

Erich Hampe

Since May 15th 1954 Hampe has been President of the Federal Air Raid Precautions Institute. During the Nazi regime Hampe was "Reichsführer" of the Technical Emergency Service, a strike-breaking organisation which he had headed since 1921. He was a member of the Nazi party. In 1937 he published a book entitled "Civilian Air Raid Protection" which was devoted to the preparations for total war.

Ulrich de Maizière

Together with Speidel and Heusinger, de Maizière took part in the first secret military discussion with Western experts in Bonn and was one of the military advisers at the Paris discussions on the formation of the so-called European army. During the Hitler regime de Maizière was Lieutenant Colonel in the Operations Department of the army, which was headed by General Heusinger. He took part in the attack on the Soviet Union as staff officer of a tank division.

The names and details given above show that Hitler's General Staff will run Adenauer's army.

The Structure of an Army of Aggression

It has already been shown that the planned West German Wehrmacht will be an army of aggression and this is also betrayed by the structure of the Wehrmacht. Details already known give the following picture:

1. Army

About 360,000 or 380,000 men of the total of 500,000 under arms will serve in the army. They will be organised in twelve divisions, each of 12,000 men which in turn are gathered in army corps and armies.

The general phrase used to-day is "twelve West German divisions", but this phrase only camouflages the actual extent of the army. These twelve divisions will only be the compact core of the new Hitlerite army and will be supported by all sorts of other specialist troops which will "be of approximately the same strength".

As the militarist newspaper "Der Frontsoldat erzählt", No. 11/1954 reported, these special bodies will include corps und army troops, artillery regiments, anti-aircraft regiments, pioneers and signals, chemical units, independent heavy tank regiments, supply units, military police and so on.

Of the 12 divisions 6 should be motorised infantry divisions, 4 tank divisions and 2 mechanised Panzer-Grenadier divisions. This division shows that the West German army is planned as an extremely mobile army with a strong tank spearhead suitable for so-called dynamic warfare. This means that it is an offensive army, since the offensive demands great fire power and impetus together with a high degree of mobility.

This tendency is shown even more clearly when the arms and equipments are examined. The infantry will be armed with the Belgian machine carbine FT 30 with a rate of fire of 60 rounds per minute and each infantry division will be equipped with 5 artillery detachments and a tank battalion of 80 tanks. The tank divisions will be equipped with about 280 tanks — 120 tanks more than similar divisions in the old Hitlerite Wehrmacht. The tank divisions will also have 5 artillery detachments which will give them additional fire power. The Panzer Grenadier Divisions will be equipped with armoured transporters, 5 artillery detachments and 3 tank battalions with a total of about 240 tanks.

The fire strength and striking strength concentrated in these 12 divisions will be supplemented by heavy artillery, heavy mortars, anti-aircraft units, rocket units and other special units which will be used for the operational reinforcement of the divisions.

All these units will be fully motorised and organised in accordance with the latest military lessons learned in Korea and elsewhere and the necessities of atomic warfare. Plans in this respect have been drawn up by the British and American staffs. The strategic basic conception for warfare in German territory is the conception of total atomic war as defined by General Gruenthal, American Commander of the NATO troops, and the British Field Marshal Montgomery. Details about the perspective of total atomic war in Germany have been given by Major General James Gavin, Deputy Chief of Staff of the US Army who wrote:

"It is certain and important that the war, under all circumstances, will take place in a desert possessing neither usable roads nor railways in working order, without any towns which can be used as supply centres. In the fighting zone the defence will depend on several hundred combat groups, which must be highly mobile."

("Spiegel", Hamburg November 3rd 1954)

Thus the US General Staff envisages the conversion of West Germany into a dead zone of fire and destruction in which there will be neither railways nor towns nor roads. This dead zone is regarded as the pre-condition for carrying out the military operations foreseen for the NATO troops. The German units will have the task of acting as "soldiers for use in the first hours". General Gavin points out the role to be played by these "shielding forces" of whom Field Marshal Montgomery has stated:

"The shield will be provided by the Germans, who will be the first soldiers to go into action."

The NATO strategists thus need German troops as the offensive spearhead or as rearguard troops, if the attempted aggression should turn into a debacle, as it did in Hitler's days.

On November 2nd 1954 the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" admitted that the new West German army would be "a means of the Atlantic leadership to put the American strategic conception into effect".

General Weinstein stated in the article in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" on November 2nd 1954 that

"if the homeland has to be abandoned" the West German troops would have the task of covering the retreat of the Anglo-American forces and of turning West Germany into a "scorched earth" area. This is the final consequence of the Paris Agreements.

2. Luftwaffe

The new West German air force should consist of 100,000 men and 20 squadrons of planes, composed as follows:

1. Eight fighter squadrons each of 15 planes — Hawker Hunters or Sabres.
2. Two squadrons of all-weather fighters, each of 36 planes — F 89 (Scorpion).
3. Six squadrons of fighter bombers, each of 15 planes — F 84 f (Thunderstreak).
4. Two squadrons of reconnaissance planes, each of 54 planes — F 86 k (Sabre).
5. Two transport squadrons, each of 48 planes — type not yet known.

More than 2000 pilots of a maximum age of 35 or 40, according to branch, will be needed to fly these machines.

On December 8th 1954 the Hamburg newspaper "Welt" stated:

"The total personnel of the new German Luftwaffe, including anti-aircraft units for airfield protection, will be about 100,000 men..."

"The Federal Republic will be divided into two airforce commands which will be subject to the Chief of the Luftwaffe who will presumably have his seat in the Defence Ministry. It is learned that General Galland is one of the prospective candidates for the post of Commander of the Luftwaffe. General Galland will return shortly to Germany. He is at present in the Argentine."

Galland had a leading post in the Hitlerite Luftwaffe and was the last Inspector General of the nazi fighter squadrons.

3. The Navy

The navy will be about 50,000 men strong with over 180 ships. The submarine branch will be particularly strongly represented with submarines of up to 350 tons displacement and submarine-chasers of up to

600 tons. The West German militarists have benefited from the fact that the list of types of vessels which may be constructed in West Germany has been considerably extended in the London and Paris Agreements compared to the EDC Treaty. Appendix II of paragraph 107 of the EDC treaty stated that West Germany was allowed to build no submarines and other naval vessels were only permitted up to 1500 tons. The final Protocol of the London Conference, on the other hand, granted West Germany permission to produce submarines of up to 350 tons and warships of up to 3000 tons.

This extension of the naval building programme and the emphasis on submarine construction has led to a certain amount of uneasiness in many quarters in Britain, since submarines are on the whole unsuitable for operations in the shallow Baltic and have always mainly been used in naval warfare against the British Isles.

Despite the lack, at least for the immediate future, of heavy units the West German navy will be prepared for offensive operations against the Soviet Union. Captain Kurt Zenker, at present director of the Naval Sub-Department in the Blank Office who has been designated as future Naval Chief, demanded on November 11th 1954 in the official Bulletin of the Press and Information Department of the West German Government that this fleet should be trained for offensive operations against the Soviet Union.

Zenker stated that the West German navy would have the task of "being active in order to keep the entrance open for the Allied navies." This "division of labour" between the West German mercenary formations and the other NATO forces is typical of the entire role foreseen for the German mercenaries in the framework of the NATO. The West German units will be supplied with all those weapons necessary for the "first wave". They will also be issued with protective clothing for atomic warfare since they are intended to be the first troops which will penetrate territory which has been made radio-active by American atom bombs. In this connection it is necessary to know that West Germany is the only country in Europe in which atomic cannon and guided atom missiles are stationed.

The main task of the West German units will be to serve as the infantry and tank assault troops in a war against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and against the German Democratic Republic. The West German army foreseen in the Paris Agreements is an army of aggression and an army of civil war, directed against the German people.

Atom Weapons in the Hands of German Militarists

On the basis of the Paris Agreements atomic weapons will be placed at the disposal of the German militarists and their army of aggression.

The former Hitlerite General Hasso von Manteuffel who is now Free Democratic member of the West German Parliament stated in Parliament on December 16th 1954 that the new West German army should be given

"the most effective weapons" and that "care must be taken that our scientific research and development should be got going and that Germany should not be limited in this respect by political demands on the armament office or armament agency".

General Manteuffel continued:

"If Germany contributes its army force to the defence of the West it must be realised that to-day technical armament and means of warfare of every type have become more than ever an integral part of armed strength. I have always said that armed strength first begins to breathe with the aid of armament . . .

"The use of soldiers and productive strength has natural limits set for it by the war potential of the State, but there are always certain possibilities of extending these limits through the development and further development of the weapons, also within the voluntary limitation which we have accepted. The source of strength in this respect is the intellectual capacity and ability of the research scientists, the engineers and the technicians."

This quotation shows that the West German militarists are firmly determined to take part with their full strength in an arms race and that they intend to harness the whole of science in West Germany to their atomic plans of destruction.

The Paris Agreements foresee that the West German militarists shall be integrated in the NATO and in its General Staff. This in itself will give them control over atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. At their Conference in December 1954 the NATO Generals decided that the armament of all NATO troops, including the West German army, should be converted to atomic weapons and means of mass destruction. This was confirmed by the London "Daily Mail" on December 18th 1954 which stated:

"From now on atomic weapons will gradually take the place of orthodox weapons in the NATO armoury, and in the plans of Britain and all the other countries, including West Germany."

The equipment and uniform of the West German army of aggression will, according to the plans drawn up by the Blank Office, be adjusted to atomic war (see picture supplement). The "Neue Ruhrzeitung" of November 2nd 1954 stated in this connection:

"The West German divisions will be, according to American plans, mobile units which will be trained for warfare in the atomic age."

There can be no doubt that the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and France gave definite guarantees at the London and Paris Conferences in 1954 that the Hitlerite militarists in West Germany should be given the chance of developing atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons as well as tactical atomic weapons, and of equipping the West German army

with such weapons of mass destruction. On the basis of these guarantees the Blank Office officially announced on January 6th, 1955 that it was impossible to introduce a militia system in West German instead of conscription since this would make it impossible to use atomic weapons. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" on January 7th 1955 quoted the Blank Office as stating in this connection:

"In addition the short term of training for militia would not allow equipment with weapons which need particular technical knowledge such as tanks, radar equipment and tactical atomic weapons."

The Paris Agreements thus mean that atomic weapons would be put into the hands of the same fascist war criminals who proved during the second world war that they had no scruples against destroying millions of men, women and children. The use of atomic weapons is for Adenauer and the German militarists the highest form of what they understand as the "Policy of Strength". By this means they wish to force a war against the East.

The results of this policy for the German people have been admitted by Dr. Wilhelm Wolfgang Schütz, an official of the West German Ministry of All German Affairs in his book "Germany's Hour" (Stuttgart 1954) in which he states:

"To use force to oblige the Russians to retreat means atomic war in Germany and the suicide of the German nation... No country is so directly open to the concentric use of means of destruction as Germany. In no country are so many atomic cannon and atomic planes concentrated as in Germany. No country is less able than Germany to regard a third world war as a continuation of its policy. Already to-day the front runs right through Germany. Germany would be a battlefield from the very first moment of the war. With the use of a few H-bombs, the whole of German territory can be made uninhabitable and the majority of Germans can be destroyed or condemned to a lingering death."

Thus leading circles in West Germany see clearly the results for Germany of an atomic war but, at the same time, such a war is being systematically prepared by the Adenauer Government.

500,000 Men are only the Beginning

Washington and London attempt to give the impression that a new West German army will be strictly limited to the figure of 500,000 men laid down in the Paris Agreements. In a Memorandum addressed to the Nine Power Conference in London Chancellor Adenauer stated:

"The Federal Republic will limit its armaments to the figures laid down in the EDC treaty. This means that the forces will not be stronger than 500,000 men..."

("Neue Zeitung", Berlin, September 29th 1954)

Such paper declarations can only be taken seriously by someone who completely forgets the development after the first world war. Such promises are intended to mislead the German people and the peoples of Europe, who have repeatedly had the very worst experiences with the huge military might of the German militarists.

In fact the German militarists have not the slightest intention of making do with only twelve divisions. For Adenauer an army of 500,000 men is only the beginning and he intends to convert the twelve divisions rapidly into 24, 30 and finally 60 divisions. The war agreements of London and Paris give the West German government every opportunity to exceed the alleged "maximum figure" and to establish very soon a Wehrmacht numbered in millions.

The Paris Agreements have this to say about the armed forces of the Western European Union:

"The strength and armaments of the internal Defense and Police Forces... shall be fixed agreements within the Organisation of Western European Union, having regard to their proper functions and needs and to their existing levels."

Naturally the German militarists have a "need" to increase the number of their uniformed mercenaries. They make no attempt to conceal their plans in this respect.

Since October 1953 there has been a secret agreement between the German and American militarists permitting the establishment of twelve reserve divisions in addition to the twelve active divisions. Apart from this the Hitlerite generals employed in the West German Ministries of War and the Interior are utilising a variety of methods for achieving the total mobilisation of the West German population.

Firstly they demand a considerable strengthening of the Federal Frontier Force from 20,000 to 60,000 or even 80,000 men.

Secondly they demand that practically the entire population should be formed into some sort of "Home Guard" additional to the 500,000 regular soldiers.

Thirdly the West German War Ministry has completed plans under which older men would be called up for refresher courses lasting several months as a reinforcement to the standing army.

The former General Adalbert Weinstein, member of Hitler's General Staff, writing in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" on December 2nd 1954 stated:

"West Germany must increase by many times its frontier protection troops. This must be supported in depth by a frontier militia. In a further zone fixed according to military-technical and geographic factors the Atlantic armed forces and the German divisions must be stationed... the Allied troops themselves would be supported by militia troops in the whole of West Germany."

At the same time, according to the Agence France Presse, Hitlerite General Matzky, Chief of the Federal Frontier Force, stated "I believe that the strength of this troop must be raised from 20,000 to 60,000 and that the units must be equipped with anti-tank weapons."

On December 1st 1954 the "Stuttgarter Zeitung" printed the following report on the manoeuvres of the Federal Frontier Force:

"... in the manoeuvre area itself the necessity of being equipped with heavy weapons and vehicles was repeatedly pointed out. There was also talk of the fact that the frontier force would have difficulty in carrying out its tasks unless it was provided with sufficient anti-aircraft protection. It would therefore be necessary to equip the frontier forces with anti-aircraft cannon also."

The Dusseldorf newspaper "Welt am Sonnabend" published the following report on the intentions of the leading officers of the Federal Frontier Force on October 30th 1954:

"They are obviously playing with the idea of raising something similar to the SS mobile troops which we remember so well — those troops which in the course of time came to enjoy a number of personal advantages over the Wehrmacht soldiers . . . They say it is necessary to create a shield along the frontier under cover of which the operational forces can be mobilised."

All these plans to reinforce the Federal Frontier Force have already taken concrete form. An American Military Mission arrived in West Germany a short while ago, under the leadership of Colonel Summers, with the task of forging ahead with the further extension of the Federal Frontier Force despite French objections. They plan the increase of the frontier force to a strength of 80,000 and its equipment with further heavy weapons.

However, the favorite idea of the West German militarists and the Hitlerite generals is the avoidance of the maximum figure of 500,000 through the formation on a large scale of some form of home guard.

The American news agency AP reported from Bonn on December 13th 1954:

"Vice Admiral Helmut von Heye, a military expert of the Christian Democratic fraction in the West German Parliament, stated on December 13th in Bonn that he was in favour of the construction of an all-round home defense force to supplement the active military defense provided by the future German armed forces.

The home defense force should include the police, the frontier forces, technical auxiliary forces, the air raid precautions and air defense together with local militia units for defense against invading enemy forces, together with other units charged with the maintenance of supply and transport . . .

The home defence force should wear the same uniform as the army whilst on duty . . .

The members of the various home defence forces should meet several times a month for training in which they would have specialist instruction, as is already the case to-day with the technical auxiliary units."

During the war von Heye was Commander of the light combat units of the Hitlerite Navy. The statement quoted above, which he made in his capacity of parliamentary military expert of the Christian Democratic Union, prove that plans have already been worked out by the West German government for the full militarisation and mobilisation of the entire West German population.

On December 16th 1954 the "Westdeutsches Tageblatt" published an interview with General Hasso von Manteuffel and Admiral von Heye under the title "Does West Germany need a Volkssturm?" This interview revealed that Manteuffel thought that at least 1,250,000 men should be under arms. Manteuffel declared:

"Each member of this force should have his machine pistol ready at hand in the kitchen cupboard and should keep himself in trim through regular target practice and field manoeuvres. The members of this homeguard would naturally have to wear uniform."

In the course of this interview Admiral von Heye said that the members of this homeguard should man the guns, carry out the necessary evacuations (!) ensure supplies and communications. He proposed that "even the smallest groups" should be equipped with rapid-firing anti-aircraft guns. All units would have to be fully motorised. The establishment of this home guard would have to proceed at the same time as the new Wehrmacht was being formed. When he was asked whether this would not mean that West Germany would then have an army which exceeded the permitted maximum of 500,000, Admiral von Heye replied, like the oracle of Delphi:

"That would of course mean more than 500,000 men in uniform. But only in the final phase, not at the beginning."

Adalbert Weinstein, the member of the Hitlerite General Staff already quoted, gave these reasons for forming a home defence force:

"In the framework of a conscript army of the old type there is no possibility of employing the men of 30 and 40 years old in accordance with their age and experiences . . . We want to use those who took part in the war . . . The generation aged between 30 and 40 must be organised in a militia."

This confirms once again that the West German militarists intend to mobilise the entire population. The men should go to the barracks, the women into the arms factories and air raid services and the children should be used for auxiliary services. Hitler only turned to the use of his Volkssturm in the final period of his war of aggression against the peoples of Europe and the Soviet Union but the West German militarists intend to use this method at the very beginning of their plans of aggression.

Colonel Kentner from Wiesbaden, member of the Society for Military Science, writing in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" of December 6th 1954 gave details of the system of calling up age groups for short term training, a system imitated from the illegal "Black Reichswehr" of the Weimar Republic. He stated:

"In order to fill the gaps it is necessary to call up the 'White Age Groups'. That means the age groups which were too young for the last war but which to-day are above the age for regular service. In addition it is intended to call up recruits at three monthly intervals. The aim of this measure is to keep the forces constantly mobilised for the crisis, since if the recruits are only called up once a year this means, to a certain degree, that the striking force is halved . . .

It is intended to establish 509 barrack areas. For a beginning in many cases the encampments will have to be in tents."

The system proposed is thus a clever system of preparing the entire population of West Germany for war and of avoiding any limitations which may have been imposed on the size of the West German forces. It is clear that if the Paris Agreements are put into force the West German government will dispose, within two or three years, not over 500,000 soldiers, but over several million soldiers. The weapons for these troops, including atomic weapons, already lie prepared in NATO depots which are not subject to any form of arms control.

Do the West German militarists who have already led Germany twice into catastrophic military debacles not see where these plans for total war and total mobilisation will lead? Of course they see the consequences but they go ahead with the re-establishment of their power despite this. Adalbert Weinstein, in the article in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" of December 2nd 1954 stated:

"There is the objection that such warfare would lay the whole of Germany waste."

Herr Weinstein, Hitler's former General staff officer, adopts the point of view that such an argument is beside the point and argues that if the United States uses the atomic weapon the result would be still more disastrous.

The Core of the Wehrmacht is already there

The core for this army of aggression has been formed in West Germany over the course of the past few years. To-day there are already in existence strongly armed military formations, paramilitary units and German auxiliary troops attached to the occupation forces of the Western powers.

The military forces which are controlled by Department IV of the West German Ministry of the Interior or by the analogous departments of the

Provincial Ministries and the functions of which far exceed those of a genuine police force are composed as follows:

Provincial Police	110,000
Federal Frontier Force	20,000
Provincial Mobile Police	25,000
Bavarian Frontier Police	5,000
West Berlin Police	17,000

These military units under the direct command of the Federal Republic total 177,000 men. In addition 145,000 Germans serve in the armed military service groups of the occupation forces. They are constituted as follows:

Labor Service units of the United States Army	about 60,000
German Service Organisation of the British Army ..	about 70,000
Formations Auxiliaires de Main d'Oeuvre et de Transport with the French Army	about 15,000

In the course of the past few months the fighting strength of these units has been considerably increased by the issue of modern weapons.

In addition there are the following organisations of a definitely military character, led by fascist officers and in many cases uniformed and living in barracks:

Technical Auxiliary Forces	about 70,000
Air Raid Protection Forces	about 50,000

There are thus more than 440,000 Germans to-day serving in West Germany in units of a military character. Of this total, when 5,000 West Berlin mobile police are included, 200,000 men are serving in mobile units of direct operational importance.

When a West German regular army is raised the West German government will immediately have the following armed forces and para-military forces at its disposal:

German NATO troops	500,000
Police and Auxiliaries	440,000
Total	940,000

In addition work has begun in training 230,000 air raid helpers in 92 large towns. The training programme foresees:

Fire brigade	64,000
Rescue and Repair services	54,000
Decontamination services	46,000
First aid services	56,000
Veterinary services	5,000
Communications	5,000
	230,000

("Ziviler Luftschutz", Coblenz- November 1954, No. 11)

The German auxiliary troops attached to the Western Occupation Forces have already been "integrated" in the NATO forces with regard to their uniform, armament, language of command etc. They have two functions:

1. They serve as guards for ammunition dumps, equipment dumps and other military installations and as drivers for the occupation forces.
2. They serve as technical personnel in tank repair depots, signal units, bridge building units, heavy transport units, pioneer construction units, decontamination units, radar units, ground staff on airfields and as crews on American naval units. Their training is expensive and arranged on a long term basis extending up to service terms of five years and this training has been enforced for some years in German units attached to the American, British and French troops. They thus form the core of the technical troops of the new West German army of aggression.

A report to the American War Ministry in Washington has emphasized the military importance of these guard, repair and supply units:

"By this method we ensure that all soldiers can fight in the field, knowing the supply and technical side is fully covered."
(*"Daily Express"*, London, May 10th 1954)

The lessons of modern war have taught that service in such units is of equal military importance and just as dangerous as service in frontline units.

There are a number of special training centres maintained by the American, British and French forces in which Germans are to-day prepared for atomic, chemical and biological warfare although the Geneva Convention, signed by all governments with the exception of the United States, bans chemical and bacteriological warfare. The research and training institutes for bacteriological and chemical warfare in West Germany include the following:

1. The chemical-bacteriological-radiological school at Kirchheim-Bolanden. This school provides courses for officers and men lasting an average of two weeks, for gas, bacteriological and atomic war. Germans are also trained here.
2. The chemical-bacteriological-radiological school in Mannheim. The director of this school is Lieutenant Colonel Simon R. Sinnrech of the United States Army.

The curriculum is the same as in the school at Kirchheim-Bolanden.

3. The central school for chemical warfare of the British Army of the Rhine.
4. The Atomic Weapon School of USAREUR in Oberammergau. Director of the school is Lieutenant Charles Jeffries. Courses are provided here particularly for high ranking officers and generals of the NATO forces and German service units. This central atomic school for the entire NATO is stationed in the home town of the world famous Passion Play.

Here, where Bavarian peasants stage every four years a play based on the crucifixion of Christ, the American atomic strategists are preparing for the crucifixion of the people of Europe.

The force which is officially called the Federal Frontier Force is, in its constitution and armament, a purely military force. Government quarters in Bonn describe the Federal Frontier Force as a "highly mobile force" under the protection of which

"German forces in the central area of the Federal Republic can be mobilised and trained in safety... In time of crisis the frontier troops will see to it that the operational forces... can be deployed in security." ("Münchener Merkur", October 29th 1954.)

The Federal Frontier Force is intended to act as the shield behind which the striking force can be mobilised and at the same time it is intended to hold down the population in the hinterland. In order to carry out this task, the frontier troops are fully mobilised and equipped with tracked and armoured vehicles. They have weapons of small and medium calibre and modern signals and pioneer equipment.

In the autumn manoeuvres of 1954 the Federal Frontier Force had two tasks. The military task entailed the testing and perfection of the fighting readiness of these units. The political task was "to prove" that the Federal Frontier Force was "too weak" in men and weapons to carry out the military task, and thus to show that its reinforcement was urgently necessary.

The West German budget for 1955/56 foresees big expenditures for the frontier force and for the building of new barracks in Hanover, Bonn, Munich and Rosenheim. The American News Agency "United Press" reported on December 28th 1954 that a spokesman of the Social Democratic Parliamentary fraction had described this as "illegal" and as "a further removal of the Federal Frontier Force from its real tasks".

The mobile police forces of the various provinces and the Bavarian Frontier Police have the same tasks as the Federal Frontier Force and in most particulars the same equipment. They are fully motorised military formations equipped for war.

When the West German militarists demand an additional home guard they already have the basis for these troops. These units provide the German militarists with their "Black Reichswehr" which form the cadre of the home defense called for General Manteuffel.

All these military formations which already exist, together with the para-military formations and the "Old Comrades Associations" form the core for a new army of millions of men, controlled by German militarists. The army 500,000 strong announced as the result of the Conferences in London and Paris will form only the core of a whole system of military formations, equipment and installations. The total of all these troops is for its part an integral portion of the military deployment plans of the NATO forces for which West Germany is the main area of deployment.

The new uniforms



Just the same:

The uniforms of the West German Army show clearly that it is simply an American mercenary army. These pictures are reproduced from the West German "Spiegel", October 20th 1954, and the West Berlin "IBZ", October 1954. They show old criminals in new uniforms.



This picture shows a group, the smallest unit, of the West German Frontier force. This group consists of one non-commissioned officer and nine soldiers, armed with one machine gun, two machine pistols and six carbines.



The Barracks of the New War Ministry

*The buildings shown above,
in the West German
capital of Bonn,
house the Blank Office,
the new War Ministry.*

On these pages we introduce:



Theodor Blank, head of the Blank Office and de facto War Minister. He has been constantly shouted down at recruiting meetings which he has attempted to address in Augsburg, Nuremberg and other cities.



Colonel Kurt Fett, head of the Planning Department of the Blank Office. Under Hitler he was Chief of the Organisation Department of the Army High Command.



Freiherr von Loeffelholz, charged by the Blank Office with the job of organising the procurement and other military supplies for the new West German Wehrmacht.



Dr Brandstetter, head of the Legal Department of the Blank Office. In the Hitlerite Wehrmacht he served as military judge.

Guilty Men



Ludwig Cruewell, designated as supreme commander of the new Wehrmacht. Under Hitler he served as general in Yugoslavia and Africa.



Erich Mende, Free Democratic parliamentary deputy, designated as Parliamentary State Secretary in new War Ministry. Served under Hitler on eastern front.



Count Kielmannsegg, designated as Military State Secretary in new War Ministry. Served as colonel on Hitler's General Staff.



Adolf Heusinger, designated as Chief of General Staff. Served under Hitler as general in the General Staff as Chief of Operations.



Hans Speidel, designated as liaison officer to NATO. General and staff officer in Hitler's Wehrmacht, serving in France and on eastern front.



Count von Schwerin, designated as army corps commander. Commanded a division on eastern front in Second World War.



Freiherr von Luettwitz, designated as army corps commander in new Wehrmacht. Served as general under Hitler, sought by Poland as war criminal.



Wend von Wietersheim, designated as army corps commander in new Wehrmacht. Promoted to rank of general by Hitler, commanded SS Division on eastern front.



Maximilian von Edelheim, designated as army corps commander in new Wehrmacht. Promoted to rank of general by Hitler. Since 1945 leading member of West German "Society for Military Science".



Rudolf von Gersdorff, designated as army corps commander or for leading post in intelligence. Served as general and head of Hitler's intelligence service on central sector of eastern front.



Gerhard Panitzki, designated as Luftwaffe commander. Served under Hitler as Lieutenant Colonel on the General Staff.



Kurt Zenker, designated as naval chief. Naval Captain during Second World War.

WEHRKUNDE

ORGAN DER GESELLSCHAFT FÜR WEHRKUNDE MÜNCHEN

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GESELLSCHAFT FÜR WEHRKUNDE MÜNCHEN

Die Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde wurde im Januar 1952 vor einem Kreis ehemaliger Offiziere in München gegründet mit dem Ziel:

1. die bei Ende des 2. Weltkrieges abgebrochene deutsche wehrkundliche Forschung wiederzubeleben und ihren Anschluß an den Stand der ausländischen Forschung zu betreiben,
2. die militärischen Erfahrungen aus dem 2. Weltkrieg zu sammeln und auszuwerten und sie für den Fall einer Wiederaufstellung deutscher Streitkräfte nutzbar zu machen,
3. einzutreten für die Wiederbelebung und Festigung der deutschen Wehrbereitschaft im Rahmen einer Verteidigungsgemeinschaft der freien Völker und auf der Grundlage europäischen Kulturbewußtseins.

Organ der Gesellschaft ist die Monatsschrift „WEHRKUNDE“ (Verlag „Europäische Wehrkunde“, München 3, Brienerstraße 47). Daneben gibt die Gesellschaft eine „Schriftenreihe der Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde“ heraus, in der bisher 11 Hefte erschienen. In Vorbereitung ist eine „Kleine militärische Handbibliothek“, mit deren Herausgabe im Jahre 1954 begonnen wird.

Dem Vorstand gehören z. Z. an: Generaloberst a. D. Hans Reinhardt, Gen.-Major a. D. Vollrath v. Hellermann, Oberst a. D. Eberhard Graf v. Nostitz, Vize-Admiral a. D. Friedrich Ruge, General d. Fl. a. D. Hans Georg v. Seidel.

Die Gesellschaft verfügt über Zweigstellen (Sektionen) u. a. in den folgenden Orten:

Aachen – Amberg – Ansbach – Arnsberg – Augsburg – Baden-Baden – Bamberg – Bayreuth – Bensheim – Berlin I – Berlin II – Bielefeld – Böckum – Bonn – Braunschweig – Bremen – Bremerhaven – Celle – Clausthal-Zellerfeld – Coburg – Darmstadt – Detmold – Dänischeschingen – Dortmund – Düsseldorf – Duisburg – Emden – Erlangen – Eschwege – Essen – Ettlingen – Flensburg – Frankfurt/Main – Freiburg – Friedrichshafen – Fürth – Garmisch – Gelsenkirchen – Germersheim – Gifhorn – Gaslar – Hagen – Hamburg – Harburg – Hameln – Hannover – Bad Harzburg – Heide/Halstein – Heidelberg – Hildesheim – Hof – Itzehoe – Jülich – Karlsruhe I – Karlsruhe II – Kassel – Kempten – Kiel – Koblenz – Konstanz – Krefeld –

Kranach/Ofr. – Landau – Landshut – Lichtenfels – Ludwigsburg – Lübeck – Lüdenscheid – Lüneburg – Mainz – Mannheim – Marburg – Miesbach – Mönchen-Gladbach – München – Münster – Neuburg/Danau – Neustadt – Nartheim – Nürnberg – Oberndorf – Offenburg – Oldenburg – Paderborn – Passau – Peine – Pirmasens – Bad Pyrmont – Bad Reichenhall – Regensburg – Rendsburg – Rasenheim – Rüsselsheim – Schweinfurt – Salingen – Speyer – Stade – Straubing – Stuttgart – Sulzbach-Rosenberg – Traben-Trarbach – Traunstein – Trier – Tübingen – Uelzen – Ulm – Unna I – Unna II – Vohenstrauß – Warendorf/Weiden/Opf. – Weinheim – Westerland/Sylt – Wetzlar – Wiesbaden – Witten – Wulffenbüttel – Würzburg

The programme of the West German "Society for Military Science" in Munich. Point 2 in the programme states that the aim of the society is "To collect military lessons learned in the Second World War so that they can be utilised in the case of the new formation of German armed forces". Branches of the society have been established in 117 West German towns.

1 9 4 5



"Get a move on"

shouted the Americans when they were herding German soldiers into prisoner of war camps in 1945.



1 9 5 5

"Get a move on"

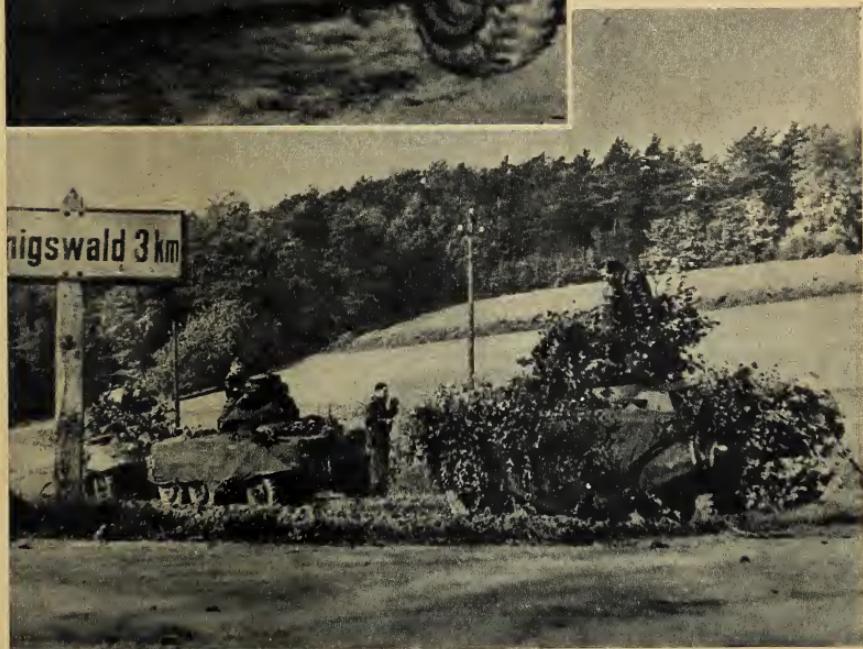
the Americans shout in 1955, hoping to involve the West Germans in a civil war with their brothers in the East.



The official report of the manoeuvres held by the West German Frontier Force in autumn 1954 started with the words "In the area of Hersfeld and Kassel", words strongly reminiscent of the Wehrmacht communiques of the Second World War. The pictures show Gerhard Schroeder, West German Minister of the Interior (top picture, centre; bottom picture, left) smiling cheerfully as he views the manoeuvres.



The West German militarists already have heavy weapons. Here is an armoured car of the so-called "Federal Frontier Force".

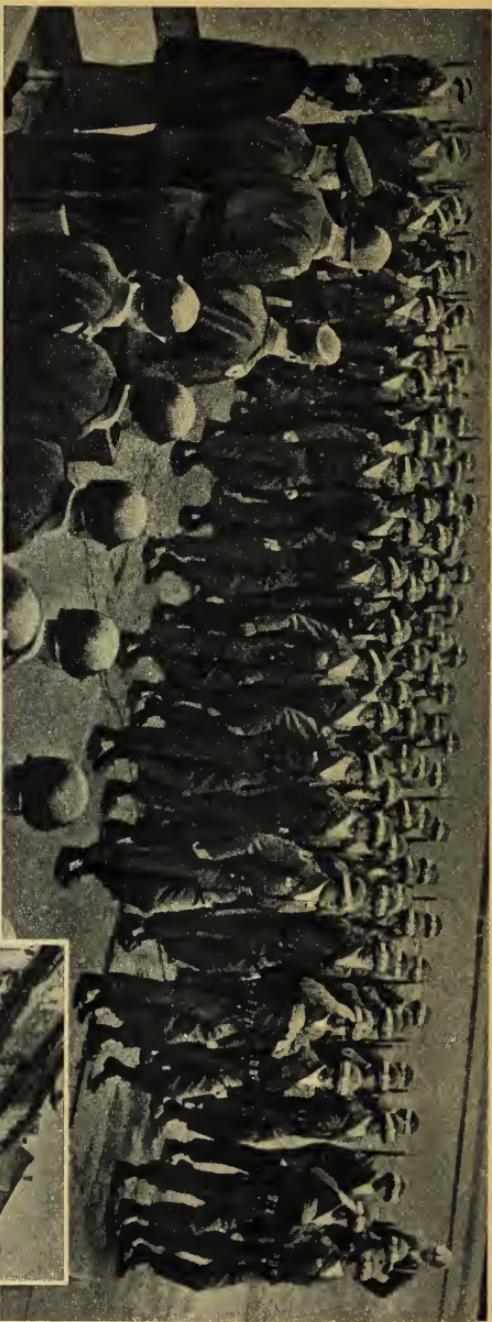


Camouflaged "police". Armoured cars of the Federal Frontier Force on manoeuvres in the Hersfeld-Cassel area, autumn 1954.

These are German soldiers, not Americans

The picture above shows a German "Labor Unit" attached to the US occupation forces, on parade in West Berlin. These "Labor Unit" soldiers wear American uniforms dyed a blue-grey colour. This picture, which shows armed German troops parading before US Brigadier General Craig, was published in the Cologne magazine "Neue Illustrierte" on April 17th 1954. In its caption the magazine stated innocently: "It is one of the curious secrets of the Cold War that the labor units have to have rifles and bayonets".

The picture on the right is reproduced from "US News and World Report" of March 19th 1954. The caption states "The West German Army". The accompanying article states with regret that the greater part of this army is still only on paper.



The Lessons of History

The establishment of an army millions strong formed round the core of a cadre army 500,000 strong plus 80,000 men in a motorised frontier force makes it necessary to take a look at history. After the military defeat of Germany in 1918 the German militarists were allowed to raise a Reichswehr 100,000 strong for which heavy weapons were prohibited — This was in a Germany nearly twice as large as the present Federal Republic and with about 20 million more inhabitants.

This Reichswehr, with its illegal General Staff, became the centre round which everything reactionary in the Weimar Republic was grouped. When the time was right, this group manoeuvred Hindenburg, the Kaiser's Field Marshal, into the key position of President of the Reich. From this position the attack was organised on the Office of the Reich Chancellor and Franz von Papen was placed in this position as representative of this militaristic group. The coup d'état of July 20th 1932 was organised with the aid of this militaristic concentration. General von Rundstedt, at that time Military Commander of Berlin and later the organiser of the rape of Czechoslovakia and the invasion of France, sent his tanks through the streets of Berlin and sacked the Social Democratic Government of Prussia and the Social Democratic Police President of Berlin.

This Reichswehr and its leadership formed the core of the group which supported the Hitler regime during the Röhm crisis on June 30th 1934 and thus saved the Hitler regime from serious difficulties. The corps of officers and non-commissioned officers later formed the basis of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht which invaded Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland contrary to treaty and contrary to the promises made by Hitler. It must be remembered that Hitler carried out these military acts of aggression with an army only 750,000 strong. The West German Wehrmacht planned under the terms of the Paris Agreements is, as has already been shown, only the spearhead of the NATO armies stationed on German soil.

Apart from the German units already detailed a total of 579,000 occupation soldiers are stationed in West Germany to-day.

The American ground occupation troops, organised in the 7th Army, number about 252,000 men. In addition there is the 12th US air fleet with about 36,000 men.

These units are equipped with the most modern weapons: long range bombers, radio controlled missiles, pilotless bombers and others. US Lieutenant Colonel Carell has declared that the radio controlled weapons will be equipped with atomic bomb-heads.

In West Germany at the moment a total of thirty 10 inch atomic cannon are stationed. The American troops have 82 large military depots including thirty dumps of arms, ammunition and fuel and seventeen manoeuvre and artillery grounds. A total of fifty United States military training schools are stationed in West Germany in which the cadres, including German personnel, are trained for warfare in Europe.

The British and Canadian troops of occupation, 126,0000 strong, are organised in the British Rhine Army and the First Canadian Brigade Group. A further 40,000 men are organised in the Second British Tactical Air Fleet and the First Canadian Air Division.

Three quarters of the British ground forces are tank units. Large British supply bases are stationed at Eschweiler, Rheindahlen, Brand, Wittlich and Düren and the largest British dump with 100,000 tons of war material is situated in Belgium on the Western frontier of Germany.

The French occupation troops consist of five divisions, including 2 tank divisions, totalling 100,000 men and the First French Air Division equipped with about 300 jet planes.

The Belgian and Danish occupation troops total 25,000 men including 2,000 air force personnel. In addition there are smaller contingents of Dutch and Luxembourg troops on German soil.

NATO Deployment Area

The territory of West Germany has become a concentration area for the NATO forces with their spearhead clearly directed against the German Democratic Republic and the other countries of Eastern Europe. Since the hinterland of these armies does not possess either the necessary strategic depth for a modern war or the necessary moral and political stability, the London and Paris Agreements have laid down in detail the way in which the entire hinterland can be converted to-day into a war camp. These details include the economy, transport, communications and the subordination of the administration, judiciary and police under this enormous war machine. These functions are carried out in particular by the Bonn Convention of May 26th 1952, the Forces Convention, the Finance Convention and so on. The basic ruling upon which all the other rulings in the Forces Convention, the Finance Convention and so on, are founded reads as follows:

"The Federal Republic agrees that, from the entry into force of the arrangements for the German Defence Contribution, Forces of the same nationality and effective strength as at that time may be stationed in the Federal Republic."

(Bonn Convention, Article 4, as amended by the Paris Agreement signed October 23rd 1954.)

The Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany (Paris, October 23rd 1954) Article 1, paragraph 2, states that the effective strength of the Forces stationed in the Federal Republic may at any time be increased with the consent of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. Paragraph 4 of the same Article states "the Federal Republic grants to the French, the United Kingdom and the United States forces the right to enter, pass through and depart from the territory of the Federal Republic."

The condition that the West German government must give its agreement is of only formal importance in view of the fact that up to the present the West German government has always demanded an increase in the foreign occupation troops. Protocol No. II on Forces of Western European Union, one of the Paris Agreements, foresees in Article 3 an increase in the level of these forces.

The West German government has handed over the West German population to the arbitrary rule not only of the American, British and French troops of intervention but also of all other foreign troops who are given the right to occupy the territory of the Federal Republic. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany states:

"Additional forces of the States parties to the present Convention may enter and remain in the Federal territory... for training purposes in accordance with the procedures applicable to Forces assigned to the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe..."

This paragraph is extended and specified in Part I, Article 19, paragraph 1 of the Forces Convention signed in Bonn on May 26th 1952 which states:

"The forces shall have the right to conduct manoeuvres and other measures required for the satisfactory execution of such manoeuvres or training exercises throughout Federal territory... Any administrative exercises shall, upon request of the forces, be taken by the German Authorities after reasonable previous consultations; provided that the forces may cooperate in the carrying out of such measures."

The final sentence of this paragraph makes it quite clear that the German Authorities will simply have to carry out the instructions of the Military Authorities. This is confirmed by paragraph 2 of Article 19 which states:

"The administrative measures taken by the German Authorities shall be sufficiently broad to permit the Forces themselves to take such particular measures as may be necessary to the achievement of the military aim of the manoeuvres or exercises."

The "particular measures" foreseen include the requisitioning of land, building, installations etc. the billeting of troops, the erection of brothels, the felling of trees, the crossing of fields by tanks and motorised units etc.

It is foreseen that West Germany will not only be flooded with foreign armed forces but also by foreign auxiliaries. Article 45 of the Forces Convention states specifically:

"The forces shall have the right to maintain civilian service organisations consisting of non-German nationals."

Modern armies and particularly the American army need very large numbers of auxiliary and service personnel, so that this article means that

West Germany will be flooded with hundreds of thousands of foreign nationals, including speculators, for whom the Military Commanders can requisition the dwellings and installations of the West German population under the terms of Article 19, paragraph 2 of the Forces Convention.

These foreign mercenaries and their auxiliaries have at their disposal all West German installations, administrative offices, judicial and police organs, transport facilities, and finally West German labour. Article 3, paragraph 2 in Part I of the Forces Convention states:

"The German Authorities shall exercise the powers which they have under the Basic Law in the fields of legislation, administration and judicial action so as to ensure the protection and security of the Forces and their members and of the property of the Forces and their members and to ensure the satisfaction of the requirements of the Forces and the performance of the obligations of the Federal Republic as provided in the present Convention."

This article contradicts the relevant articles of the Basic Law since the German Authorities are first of all obliged to guarantee the life and property of German citizens. This article lays down a one-sided right in the application of the laws, decrees and principles of the basic law in favour of the occupation forces, so that there shall be no obstacles in the way of the conversion of West Germany into a war camp.

The same aim is pursued in Articles 21, 22 and 37 of the Forces Convention which give the occupation forces full freedom of action in their war preparations on West German soil. Article 37 of the Forces Convention states:

"So far as is necessary to fulfil the defence purposes of the Forces the Federal Republic undertakes to ensure that the requirements of the Forces and their members within the Federal territory are satisfied, subject to the provisions of the present Convention, or any other relative Convention, in the following fields:

- (a) Accommodation (Article 38);
- (b) Goods, materials and services, including public utilities (Articles 39 and 40);
- (c) Transport services (Article 41);
- (d) Communication Services (Article 42);
- (e) Other public services (Article 43).

In this and in other similar articles it is laid down that the needs of the occupation forces should have priority over the needs of the German population. If there should be shortages, for instance in food supplies, then the civilian population will have to carry the burden.

Articles 21 and 22 lay down that the occupation powers will have immunity over all installations in which their forces are stationed and that German regulations in the fields of public health and safety may be ignored and the Occupation Authorities may apply their own regulations. A noti-

fication shall be made to the German Authorities but their agreement is not needed. The disastrous explosion at Bitburg showed the results of this policy.

The West German population has been placed at the disposal of the Occupation Authorities as serfs by the West German Authorities and the needs of the German economy rank below the opinion of the military urgency of the work to be done in the eyes of the occupation forces. The Federal Republic specifically pledges itself to supply the necessary civilian labour force, which means in effect that force can be used against the population in order to fulfill the requirements of the occupation powers. Article 37, paragraph 2 of the Forces Convention states:

"The Federal Republic shall ensure that such suitable civilian personnel as is necessary to meet the requirements of the Forces consistent with military needs will be made available to the Forces by the competent German agencies."

A whole series of articles in the same Convention have a quite special character. These articles oblige all West German authorities, officials and a further group of persons who have some connection with the public service to undertake espionage duties for the foreign occupation troops. Article 4 of the Forces Convention states:

- (1) The Authorities of the Forces and the German Authorities shall extend full cooperation and assistance to each other . . .
- (2) Such cooperation and assistance shall extend, in accordance with an understanding to be reached between the appropriate Authorities, to the collection, exchange and protection of the security of all pertinent information."

This means in effect that the entire state apparatus from top to bottom including the lowest Municipal Authorities is converted into a branch of the espionage service of the American, British and French intelligence. It is unique in history that an entire state apparatus should be at the disposal of foreign intelligence services.

On the other hand Adenauer has pledged himself to promulgate very strict measures against all Germans who devote themselves to the cause of peaceful reunification and to an understanding with the German Democratic Republic. The "Penal Provisions for the Protection of the Three Powers, their Forces and the Members of the Forces" which forms Annex A to the Forces Convention mean that practically every German will stand with one foot in prison as soon as the Paris Agreements are ratified. Title I, Section 7, Paragraph 2 of this Annex states:

"Whoever, acting for a Government, a Party, any other Association or an Institution outside the Federal Territory and Berlin (West), establishes relations of the type described in Paragraph 1 of this Section with another person or maintains such relations shall be punished in like manner."

What does this mean? This paragraph is obviously directed against the government of the German Democratic Republic, that is to say a German government, and the party of the working class. The "other associations" mean trade union organisations, cultural organisations and other organisations which have the aim of protecting the interests of the population and of working to bring together the two parts of Germany and for their peaceful reunification. These scandalous agreements concluded by Chancellor Adenauer mean that espionage for foreign powers is made a duty for the West German, while the exchange of opinions with Germans, German institutions and German parties is declared to be a crime. This shows with extreme clarity the character of these agreements as a military plot directed against Germany.

Under these paragraphs the Germans are in practice prohibited from talking to each other about their activity. Since the Paris Agreements would mean that the whole of West Germany would be placed in the service of remilitarisation, there would be practically no factory, no institution, no undertaking, which was not at the service of this remilitarisation, either openly or secretly, either directly or indirectly. Thus every worker from such a factory who visited his relatives and friends in the German Democratic Republic and spoke about his work would make himself punishable under Sections 4 and 5 of the "Penal Provisions for the Protection of the Three Powers, Their Forces and the Members of the Forces". The wide range of the punishable offences under these Penal Provisions is shown by Section 5, Paragraph 2 which states:

"The term 'military installations' shall include, but not be limited to, areas restricted for security reasons by official notice and industrial establishments, where supplies required for the Forces are produced, repaired or stored."

This means in effect that every button factory and every dry cleaners which presses military trousers will become a "military installation" under Section 5 of the Penal Provisions of the Forces Convention.

The three Occupation Powers are therefore consistent when they call upon the Federal Republic at the same time to take special measures for the protection of all spies serving the three Western Occupation Powers. The "Convention on the Settlement of Matters arising out of the War and the Occupation" signed in Bonn on May 26th 1952 states in Article 3, paragraph 1:

"No person shall be prosecuted or prejudiced in his civil rights or economic position by the action of German Courts or Authorities solely on the grounds that he has, prior to the entry into force of the present Convention, sympathised with or aided the cause of the three Powers or their policies or interests, or furnished information or services to the Forces, Authorities or Agencies of any one or more of the three Powers, or to any person, acting under the authority of any of them. The same shall apply in favour of persons, who, prior to the entry into force of the present Convention, have shown sympathy to, or aided or furnished

with information or services, the Allies of the three Powers in their common cause. The German Authorities shall apply all means at their disposal to ensure that the objectives of this paragraph are attained."

The members of the forces stationed in West Germany and their auxiliaries will occupy the position of a privileged military cast vis-a-vis the West German population. This decisive fact was publicly admitted on November 5th 1954 by Ministerial Councillor Dr. Knieper writing in the Bulletin of the Press and Information Service of the West German Government on the Forces Convention. He stated:

"A settlement of the rights and obligations of the forces brings... certain privileges for the forces and is thus a priori a source of mistrust for the citizen who has been made sceptical by experience."

These privileges include special rights with regard to the judiciary and police, full exemption from passport formalities and customs and tax legislation. It is well known that these special rights with regard to frontier and customs control have made the centres of the occupation troops centres of decay, corruption, prostitution and crime, which represent a serious threat to the life, health, morals and liberties of the West German population, particularly women and young people.



If the Paris Agreements are put into effect West Germany will be converted into a war camp and the West German population will lose their rights as members of a free and sovereign civilised nation. West Germany would be converted by these Agreements into an international military colony under the command of the American General Staff with a German mercenary Wehrmacht as main armed force. The entire life of West Germany would be subordinated to this mammoth military organisation, and West Germany would be under permanent military law. The entire West German economy would be converted into a supply service to this huge military machine. The international military aristocracy stationed in West Germany would be converted into a privileged ruling cast for whom the mass of the West Germans would have to work as auxiliaries and servants while the German armed forces could be used as punitive troops against disobedient nations, for instance in France, Italy, Tunis, Algeria etc. The Authorities of the Federal Republic would become the executive arm of this foreign military regime and the Courts and the Police would control under this regime the remaining German civilians.

Through the unlimited and uncontrollable restoration of the power of German militarism West Germany would become the focal point for a new world war.

II.

The German Militarists announce their Programme of Conquest

The initiators of the Paris Agreements like to announce that the West German army is being raised solely for "defence" and should cause no one any uneasiness.

This claim is shown up by numerous statements made by West German politicians, generals and party leaders on the aims of their policy. These representatives of the "policy of strength" call openly for the unleashing of a war of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies as well as the forcible annexation of the German Democratic Republic. They call for colonies and utter threats against all European nations. Their programme is quite openly war and aggression.

As long ago as 1951 the Hitlerite generals Blumentritt, Manteuffel and Hansen stated that West German rearmament was aimed at the launching of an offensive war against the Soviet Union. On January 14th 1951 they told American journalists in Frankfurt/Main:

"A pure defensive is ridiculous. Europe can only be defended through an offensive war... In our policy with regard to Russia we must always act in accordance with the growth of our own strength. In 1951 we must be moderate, in 1952 we shall be able to be stronger and by 1953 we shall be able to allow ourselves to be energetic and sharp."

Eight months later the West German Minister Jakob Kaiser utilised a "loyalty rally" of 100,000 resettlers to announce his chauvinistic programme of the policy of strength. The "Hamburger Echo" of September 17th 1951 reported on this meeting as follows:

"No German government can avoid the duty of reconquering East Germany" Kaiser said. We want to win back your Silesian homeland by political means. This entails, however, a policy of strength. The growing strength of the free nations should press the Eastern powers so far back that the land behind the Oder-Neisse line shall also be liberated!..."

An official of the West German government thus clearly pronounced the "policy of strength" as the method to "press back" that means to commit

aggression. In 1952 West German Chancellor Adenauer used the argument of the offensive as an argument for the formation of German divisions. Speaking in the West German Parliament on December 5th 1952 he stated:

"It is argued that these twelve divisions do not mean anything ... If we have German divisions then we have a voice in working out the strategic defence plans ... The second conception is that of ... defence along the Iron Curtain and if possible an offensive against the East."

West German Minister Heinrich Hellwege speaking on May 30th 1953 to the Party Congress of the fascist German Party in Hamburg:

"Germany has always been a bulwark against Asia — now the hour of testing has come. In order that we can meet this test we need the strong arm of a fighting force."

("Nordwest-Zeitung", Oldenburg, June 1st 1953)

In July 1953 the West German parliamentarian Ernst Müller-Hermann called in an election meeting of the Christian Democratic Union in Bremen for a "crusade against the East" and said:

"The unity and strength of the West are the most important democratic guarantees for the liberation not only of the Soviet Zone but also of the other peoples behind the Iron Curtain."

("Weser Kurier", Bremen, July 11th 1953)

The war propaganda made at Ex-Servicemen's rallies is disclosed in a report in the "Neue Württembergische Zeitung" of July 22nd 1953 on the first "Rally of Soldiers from all Services", held in Hanover. The former SS General Gille "whose voice echoed the barrack square", declared amidst loud applause:

"In the days of this rally we have recalled with pleasure the old days when we stormed victoriously forward."

The same report indicates that reminiscences were exchanged on war crimes that these German soldiers had committed. The report states:

"Do you remember that time when fat Hugo shot holes in the casks of red wine with his machine pistol ... and I had the guy directly in the sights of my gun ..."

The red wine casks were the property of French peasants and the "guy in the sights of the gun" may have been a boy in Oradour.

These unteachable militarists are ready to commit the same crimes all over again. In summer 1954 the "Old Comrades Association of the SS division Greater Germany" held its 4th Rally. This division committed countless war crimes during the war. Addressing this rally on June 6th 1954 the former SS Captain Günter Dürig who is to-day Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Tübingen stated:

"One day we shall press the button and we shall rise again. There will be martyrs but Greater Germany, true to the traditions of the old guards, will rally in the front rank. If the time has come to put on uniform again, then this had best be done in our old unit in the Greater Germany division."

(*"Frankfurter Rundschau"*, June 8th 1954)

Former Hitlerite General Alexander Andrae, member of the board of the fascist German Reich Party, proclaimed on May 9th 1954 that Adenauer's aims were the same as Hitler's war aims:

"We are faced by a clear decision. Either we shall have the old meaning and spirit and thus an elite guard or else no meaning and spirit and thus no forces.' The veteran German soldiers knew how to fight against the Bolshevik troops, he said. 'There is no Western General and no Western regiment which has so mastered this fight and the fight against overwhelming masses'."

(*"Süddeutsche Zeitung"*, Munich, May 10th 1954)

In October 7th 1954 the Social Democratic newspaper "*Freie Presse*" of Bielefeld answered a catholic West German newspaper which had published unconcealed war propaganda. This catholic newspaper had published "*geopolitical observations*" by Lieutenant Colonel Karl Gross which stated:

"It must be regarded as a definite fact that the red block from the Elbe to Vladivostok and Honkong is already completely surrounded. It is no exaggeration to say that a pearl necklace of 'town busters' (atomic weapons, trans.) has been erected round the Russian-Chinese block."

Naval Captain K. A. Zenker, who has been charged by the Blank Office with the building of a West German navy wrote about the tasks facing the future German navy in the official "*Bulletin of the Federal Government*" of November 11th 1954. He stated:

"The Baltic Sea is situated on the margin but it leads far into the area of a possible opponent and represents for him an open flank on which he is vulnerable."

The former Nazi General Bodo Zimmermann who served in the last war as chief of operations to Field Marshal Rundstedt called, in an interview with the representative of the London "*Sunday Express*" for the unleashing of an atomic war against the Soviet Union. He declared:

"I regard war as inevitable, and the side which first goes into action will the full force of atomic weapons will win. The future will belong to the side which dares to wage preventive war. The tension between East and West will continue, and will only be interrupted by a war. That is why the West, if it wants to beat Russia, must launch a preventive war using all atomic weapons at its disposal."

(*"Sunday Express"*, London, February 28th 1954)

In 1954 West German War Minister Blank appointed General Zimmermann as publisher of the official training handbooks for the West German army.

In the debate in the West German Parliament on the ratification of the Paris Agreements the Christian Democratic deputy Kurt Georg Kiesinger uttered unconcealed threats against the Soviet Union on December 15th 1954:

"A policy of strength, yes, that is the charge made against us that we have such a policy. That is a slogan . . . but it is after all the truth! Have we not learned in the past years that it is only strength which impresses the Soviet Russians and forces them to make concessions?"

It is clear that Herr Kiesinger has learned nothing from past events. He still follows Hitler's thesis which long ago led to disaster.

They Wish to Conquer the German Democratic Republic

The aggressive policy of West German Chancellor Adenauer is most clearly seen in the treatment given to the various suggestions made by the government of the German Democratic Republic for solving the German problem peacefully through all-German discussions. Replying to one of these offers on February 10th 1952 Adenauer declared cynically:

"The best way to get back the German Eastern territories is the rearmament of Germany in the framework of the European army."

And West German Chancellor Adenauer himself stated that he did not want peaceful negotiations but conquest. On September 7th 1953, the day after the West German General Elections, he declared victoriously:

"Our aim is the liberation of our 18 million brothers and sisters in the Eastern territories. Until now we have always spoken of the reunification of Germany. But we should rather say 'liberation'."

There can be no doubt what sort of "liberation" is intended. In November 1953 Adenauer gave an interview to the American army newspaper "Stars and Stripes" in which he welcomed the stationing of atomic cannon on West German soil and added:

"I can only welcome any reinforcement of the defence front, whether through the despatch of atomic weapons or by other military means."

Speaking in the West German Parliament on December 15th 1954 on the ratification of the Paris Agreements Adenauer not only called once more for the annexation of the German Democratic Republic but also of portions of the Polish People's Republic. He stated:

"This force must be sufficient to cope with the economic tasks involved in the reunification with the Soviet zone and also with the German Eastern territories."

Threats against East and West

The West German politicians of revenge emphasize not only that they are determined to reconquer with the help of their divisions those territories which have been removed from their control but they also announce far reaching plans of conquest. The expansionist programme of West German imperialism to-day is the same as it has been for the past fifty years. Such limitless plans have always been a sign of the growing aggressiveness of German imperialism and the preparation of wars of conquest against Germany's neighbours.

Writing in the "Bulletin of the Federal Government" on November 6th 1953, the West German Minister Theodor Oberländer demanded a "solution of the Sudeten German question in the spirit of the 1938 Munich Pact". Speaking on the Bavarian radio the same Minister declared:

"The Eastern frontier of Bavaria must be strengthened for a solution of the Sudeten German question in the spirit of the Munich pact and for an all European solution."

It will be recalled that in the Munich Pact the governments of Britain and France gave Hitler and the German imperialists a free hand for the partitioning and subjugation of Czechoslovakia. The Munich Pact was a decisive step towards the second world war.

In the same spirit of preparation for new annexations the Bavarian State Secretary Stain proposed at a meeting in Regensburg that the Sudeten Germans should form a government in exile. ("Bayrisches Volksecho", Munich, June 15th 1954)

The magazine "Nation Europa" 1953, No. 5, proclaimed the territorial claims of the German imperialists in Europe, camouflaging them with talk about the "European idea". The magazine stated:

"Despite the materialism of our times, Flanders and Friesland, Lower Saxony and the Tyrol, Westphalia and Bavaria and also Normandy and Brittany have remained true to blood and soil."

Although this is not clearly expressed, the pan-German appetite is shown to be very great. The way in which the German imperialists are already interfering in the internal affairs of other nations is shown in the threat uttered against France by the West German journalist C. Berger in the April 1954 number of "Nation Europa":

"Only France to-day opposes a unification and only French policy attempts to drive a dagger into the back of the European idea . . . The time has come to say to the French 'This cannot go on' . . . The French policy is not only ridiculous but also painful."

Propaganda for the "Anschluß" of Austria to Germany is also being made quite openly in West Germany to-day. West German monopolists have laid claim to property which passed into German hands as the result of Hitler's invasion of Austria, and West German politicians make speeches supporting the Anschluß. West German Minister Waldemar Kraft of

the "Refugee Party" stated on September 1st 1953 in a speech transmitted by RIAS, the official American radio in West Berlin:

"Under constitutional law all the territories which once belonged to the German Reich are still integral parts of the German Reich."

On October 10th 1953 the former Chairman of the West German Parliament Hermann Ehlers made propaganda for a sort of "Home to the Reich" movement for the South Tyrol. Using the terminology of nazi propagandists he showed that the German imperialists lay claim to Italian territory. He stated:

"The Germans should know, or at least learn again, that in 1919 the former Austrian territories South of the Brenner to well beyond Trentino were attached to Italy without any plebiscite."

In the "Vertriebenen Korrespondenz" of November 11th 1953, Dr. Hans Neuhof attempted to make a legal claim to Austria, Danzig, Eupen-Malmedy and the Sudeten and Memel areas. He stated that "all changes to the legal Reich frontiers undertaken since 1945 are contrary to international law" and went on to claim these countries and territories as "German territory". He described the Anschluss of Austria as legal and named Czechoslovakia as an "Occupation Power" in the Sudeten areas which were annexed in August 1938 by Germany. He argued that since the Memel territory had been "reunited" with Germany on the basis of an international treaty that therefore "the Memel territory forms part of the German territory".

The claim to Eupen-Malmedy is based on the fact that "this territory formerly belonged to Germany and was annexed after the first world war by Belgium."

The first reading of the Paris Agreements in the West German Parliament on December 15th and 16th 1954 was used by Hitler's heirs as an opportunity to proclaim from the tribune of the West German Parliament their policy of the annexation of foreign countries and of the threat of war.

Chancellor Adenauer declared that "the acceptance of the Paris Agreements would remove formal obstacles to important military decisions". Deputy Horst Hasser of the "Refugee Party" proclaimed the aim of reconquering "all territories which had formerly been parts of the German Reich".

These facts prove that the West German army has nothing to do with "defence" or "security", but that it is in fact an instrument for realising the far-reaching aggressive plans of the vengeful German imperialists.

The West German Fifth Column against France

The aggressive plans of the West German politicians are also directed against France, and this is shown by other facts than the repeated threats and territorial claims. It has been proved that the German militarists and the Gehlen Spy Organisation, financed with American money, maintains to-day an intensive espionage network directed against France.

Wolfgang Höher, a former leading member of the Gehlen Espionage Organisation, who sought refuge in the German Democratic Republic, reported the following facts on the activities of the Gehlen organisation in France:

"The Western neighbours of Germany, particularly France, are under observation by agents of the Gehlen organisation . . . As a result of my own activity and on the basis of directives from the general directorship in Karlsruhe I know that espionage activity is directed against representatives of the French High Commission in Germany."

("Agent 2996 Reveals", Kongress-Verlag, Berlin 1954, page 26 et seq.)

At a press conference in Berlin Dr. Otto John, former Chief of the West German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution stated on August 11th 1954:

"I will make no secret of it and declare here openly that a number of German generals, who have learned nothing from the past, want to make tactical use of EDC by transferring German units to other EDC countries to reduce these countries to subservience. This is absolutely within the realms of possibility, because according to the EDC treaty there are to be no defence lines between EDC countries. The ever increasing activities of the Gehlen organisation in France are in preparation for this."

The former leading member of the Gehlen organisation, Herr Kapahnke, who voluntarily surrendered to the State Security Service in the German Democratic Republic, made disclosures about the activity against France of the West German militarists at a press conference in Berlin on October 4th 1954. He stated:

"In autumn 1953 a conference was held in the apartment of the leader of Espionage Branch K, which was also the office of branch K. This conference was also attended by the leader of Sub-Department 1600, Caspar. Caspar was at that time representing in Berlin the leader of Department 1647, Reuter. Reuter was at this time in France on leave; during the occupation he had served as a soldier there. Caspar stated in this connection that the Gehlen organisation maintained links not only with all East European states but with nearly all West European states, particularly with France, where the resistance to EDC was strongest. In order to penetrate France better, the Gehlen organisation had organised a number of branches and sub-branches in the Saar Territory."

Jakob Kolb, former head of the West Berlin Espionage Department of the Blank Office, who requested asylum in the German Democratic Republic on December 16th 1954, had this to say about espionage in France in the declaration which he made on December 22nd 1954:

"Many things make it possible to assume that the military-political circles of West Germany intend to use the new armed forces not only

against the East but also against the West . . . For the officials of the Blank organisation it is no secret that members of General Speidel's group, which has been stationed in Paris for a considerable period, are doing intelligence work. This activity is organised by Colonel Wessel, who is a member of the Gehlen organisation although he appears officially as a representative of the Blank Office."

Hitlerite Fascists as Drafters of the Paris Agreements

The war preparations of the German militarists are supplemented by the activities of the members of the West German Foreign Ministry who have the task of making the political preparations for a new war of aggression. The Foreign Ministry makes the economic and political preparations in foreign countries and organises the Fifth Column on fascist lines in those countries against which secret plans of annexation are being prepared or the governments of which should be won for the support of West German plans of aggression. This branch of the Government is directly interested in the planning and realisation of the aggressive foreign policy and took part in drafting the Paris Agreements for war and partition.

The staff of the West German Foreign Ministry is selected in accordance with these tasks. There is a higher concentration of active nazis and war criminals in this Ministry than in any other West German Ministry. The millionaire press in West Germany and in foreign countries has confirmed that 85 per cent of all leading employees of the Foreign Ministry in Bonn were members of the Nazi Party. The same fascists who were responsible for the preparation of the Second World War in Ribbentrop's Foreign Ministry or other responsible positions in the Nazi State have been appointed by Chancellor Adenauer to draft the treaties which are intended to pave the way for a Third World War.

Since Chancellor Adenauer has retained in his own hands the leadership of this Ministry he bears full responsibility for the political activities and for the personnel selected for service in the West German Foreign Ministry.

The drafting of the Paris Agreements was carried out by a number of expert commissions and the West German representatives in these commissions were almost without exception leading officials of the Foreign Ministry or official advisers of the Foreign Ministry. Chancellor Adenauer and the State Secretary in the Foreign Ministry, Herr Hallstein, sent Herbert Blankenhorn, Chief of the Political Department of this Ministry to Paris in order to prepare for West Germany's membership in NATO.

Herbert Blankenhorn was a member of the Nazi Party (Membership No. 6,977,147). He is a nephew of Herr Dieckhoff, Nazi Ambassador in Washington and Madrid and one of Ribbentrop's closest advisers. In the nazi Foreign Ministry Blankenhorn worked as Legation Councillor and first class Embassy Councillor. In this capacity he took part during the war in an inspection visit made by members of the Foreign Ministry Staff to the

Eastern front. They visited Vitebsk, Smolensk and the Warsaw Ghetto in order to prepare the political and territorial integration of Poland and the Byelo-Russian Soviet Republic in the "Greater German Reich". On the grounds of his participation in fascist war crimes Blankenhorn was expelled from Switzerland as a nazi activist in 1945 on the decision of the Swiss Federal Council. To-day this fascist is in charge of the most important department of the Foreign Ministry.

All ten leading officials in the political department of the West German Foreign Ministry headed by Blankenhorn were members of the Nazi Party and leading officials in the Nazi Foreign Ministry.

One of Blankenhorn's closest collaborators in the preparations for the acceptance of West Germany in NATO was Government Councillor Josef Merfels who joined the Nazi Party in 1934 and had a prosperous Nazi career ending with his appointment as leader of the party group in Albania.

First Class Legation Councillor Dr. Rudolf Steg, formerly an official in the Ministerial Office of the Nazi Foreign Ministry, was also a member of Blankenhorn's special staff.

Blankenhorn's deputy is Dr. Hans Trützschler von Falkenstein, head of sub-department A of the Political Department. He was a member of the Nazi Party with membership number 8,183,952. After 1933 he carried out espionage service for the Nazis, in particular for Goebbels, as an official of the League of Nations. For his services to the Nazi cause Hitler appointed him in 1944 as secretary of the "European Committee" which was charged with carrying out the fascist plans for the "new order in Europe".

One of the West German representatives engaged in the drafting of the Paris Agreements was Professor Wilhelm Grewe, "expert for international law" in the West German Foreign Ministry. Grewe was a member of one of the three special commissions established at the London Conference in October 1954 to work out the Paris Agreements. Grewe was one of the "theorists" of the nazi policy of aggression. He was a professor at the Nazi "High School for Politics" and a regular writer in the National Socialist "Monatshefte für Auswärtige Politik" (monthly magazine for foreign policy). Grewe praised the criminal attack of the Hitlerites on the Soviet Union in an article in this magazine (1941 volume, page 749) in these words:

"No one will be able to claim that the decision of June 22nd did not develop from very real considerations. The lessons of history show that great world historical missions which do not remain in the stadium of utopianism and undecisive planning, begin in such a manner. The fact that the great supra-national task which has to be carried out here is well understood far and wide is shown by the expeditionary corps and volunteer units from nearly all countries of Europe which are fighting on the Eastern front."

By appointing this man to help prepare the Paris Agreements the German imperialists wish to create the conditions once again for the

"supra-national task" of committing aggression against other countries. Grewe came into the public eye as Adenauer's special Commissioner to the Berlin Foreign Minister's Conference. He played a decisive part in seeing to it that no joint delegation and no representatives of East and West Germany participated in this Conference. During the first reading of the Paris Agreements in the West German Parliament Grewe sat on the ministerial benches together with the Nazis Blankenhorn and Globke directly behind Adenauer, and he was constantly consulted by Chancellor Adenauer during the course of the debate. It was thus clear for all to see that the old fascist Grewe, once a "theoretician" of nazism, is to-day adviser to the West German Councillor.

One of Grewe's close collaborators is Professor Kaufmann, who appeared as a Government witness in the Karlsruhe Trial of the Communist Party of Germany and in this capacity declared that the Potsdam Agreement was "null and void". Kaufmann is one of the outstanding ideologists of treaty-breaking in the interests of Pan-German chauvinism. As long ago as 1911, in his book, "The Nature of International Law and the *clausula rebus sic stantibus*" he worked out the "theoretical basis" for the breach of international law and treaties between nations. Dr. Kurt Hiller of London had this to say about Professor Kaufmann's past in his book "Köpfe und Tröpfe", published in 1948 by the Rowohlt-Verlag, Hamburg/Stuttgart:

"It is not generally known that Herr Erich Kaufmann — who was known under Kaiser Wilhelm as an anti-pacifist and opponent of international law — has made a career as an 'international lawyer' on the basis of his insolvent and frivolous theories. Conservative and aggressive German imperialism showed its gratitude to him. At that time it was not easy for Germans of Jewish origin to become University professors, particularly in semi-political faculties; Chairs of law were almost never available. Erich Kaufmann however won his professorship without difficulty with a dissertation basing itself on the 'clausula rebus sic stantibus' and its alleged decisive importance in international law.

"... Erich Kaufmann sanctioned, with inverted logic, the breach of treaties. He claimed that loyalty to treaties is only a 'subordinatory preconception'. With the use of such shamelessness it was possible to become a professor under Kaiser Wilhelm and remain a professor under the Republic. Kaufmann's slogan 'The State may do what it is able to do' led him, naturally, not only to justify war as a whole but also to justify a war of aggression."

On the basis of all Kaufmann's constructions contrary to international law Dr. Kurt Hiller stated:

"This pseudo-lawyer, this ice-cold justifier of illegality, this encourager of war of aggression by criminal statesmen, this man who shares responsibility for the death of millions of innocent people, may have a place somewhere but not in a university chair of Law."

This is the type of man who acts as "expert" and "adviser" to West German Chancellor Adenauer. They are the men who prepared the way for

fascism, nazi ideologists, and careerists from the period of the first and second world wars.

A particular role in the drafting of the Paris Agreements was played by Hasso von Etzdorf, who had been previously the leader of the West German delegation to the EDC Interim Committee. After the London Conference, Adenauer appointed him as a member of the steering committee for the preparation of the Paris Agreement. From 1924 to 1933 Etzdorf was a member of the Stahlhelm and during the Nazi period member of the SA, Hitler's storm troops. On June 1st 1933 he joined the Nazi Party and received membership number 3,986,356. He had a good career under the Nazi regime. He was promoted to Sturmbannführer and later to Obersturmbannführer in the SA and was Legation Councillor in Ribbentrop's Foreign Ministry and for a time secretary of Freiherr von Neurath, war criminal and Hitler's "Protector" of Bohemia and Moravia.

From 1939 to 1944 Etzdorf represented the Foreign Ministry on the Supreme Command of the Army, with the rank of Legation Councillor and Major, and in this capacity took part in the preparation for Hitler's attacks on Belgium, Holland and France. The double role which he played as General Staff Officer and Nazi diplomat shows clearly the part played by the Hitlerite Foreign Ministry and its officials as an instrument of German militarism.

For his crimes Etzdorf was awarded by Hitler the War Services Cross, First Class. In June 1940 when he was stationed in the Nazi Headquarters at Fontainebleau, he was one of the organisers of the infamous "Künsberg-Commando" which dealt with the looting of Jewish objets d'art. He bears part of the responsibility for the shooting of hostages in France. The fact that Adenauer has charged Etzdorf with representing the Foreign Ministry in drafting the Paris Agreement shows clearly that those who carried out the Nazi policy of aggression have been given the job once again in the West German State to-day of planning, preparing and carrying out the policy of revenge.

In this connection it is important to know another outstanding figure in the ranks of the Bonn militarists: the nazi diplomat Werner von Bargen.

Bargen joined the Nazi party on May 1st 1933. He worked until 1937 in the legal department of the Nazi Foreign Ministry and was then sent to Belgium, first as Legation Councillor and later as Embassy Councillor. He worked there, with the exception of a short period on the outbreak of the Second World War, until 1943. The Belgian population had a particular reason for hating this Nazi representative, since he was one of those mainly responsible for the deportation of Jews from Belgium. The documents of the war criminal trials of Nazi Foreign Office members at Nuremberg show that on November 11th 1942 von Bargen sent the following report to Ribbentrop from Brussels:

"As a result of the steps taken against the Jews by the Military Commander, 15,000 men, women and children have been transported to

the East. They were originally called up for forced labour, but when rumours began to spread that the Jews were being slaughtered, etc., they ceased to obey the call-up notices. Since that time speedy individual actions have been taken to net the Jews."

In 1944 Bargen was Chargé d'Affaires in Paris and in this capacity he sent a top secret telegram on April 6th 1944 to the Foreign Ministry in Berlin stating:

"All persons arrested for dissidence or resistance who would be suitable subjects for reprisal actions have been sent to Germany. The prisoners held here are of no importance. The SS-Obergruppenführer suggests that the Foreign Ministry should obtain a list of suitable persons from the Reich Security Office and that further treatment should be given without delay in Berlin."

Bargen thus cooperated directly with Himmler's SS "Reich Security Office" in order to liquidate Belgian Jews and to have many other Belgians and Frenchmen executed as hostages.

The criminal background of this war criminal did not hinder Adenauer in appointing him as a member of the legal department of the West German Foreign Ministry in 1951. In 1952, as a result of a series of articles in the West German press which led to public uneasiness about the Foreign Ministry, Bargen was "given leave" by Adenauer. An investigation committee established by the West German Parliament described Bargen as "unsuitable in every way for further employment in the Foreign Ministry."

Despite this decision Adenauer appointed Bargen, this nazi diplomat and war criminal, to the position of "Ambassador on special duties" in the legal department of the Foreign Ministry at the end of 1954.

On January 7th 1955 the Westberlin newspaper "Telegraf" commented: "The Bonn Foreign Ministry has again surprised public opinion, and not only in Germany, with the announcement that Minister von Bargen has been re-appointed since there was no reason to take disciplinary action against him."

The provocative re-appointment of von Bargen, which is an insult to any sort of democracy, wins particular importance from the fact that during 1951 and 1952 von Bargen played a leading part in the Bonn Foreign Ministry in preparing the Bonn Treaty and the EDC treaty. As a result of the wishes of Blankenhorn and Grewe, Adenauer appointed this man, responsible for the murder of thousands of French and Belgian patriots, to assist in drafting the Paris Agreements, so that his experience in drafting such aggressive agreements could be utilised.

Old nazi leaders, such as Ewald Mühlen, formerly Nazi party group leader for Denmark, who is to-day an official in the office of State Secretary Hallstein, played a leading and coordinating part in putting these plans into effect.

The West German Ambassador in London, Schlangen-Schöningen, was a member of the commission for the integration of West Germany in the Brussels Pact. This big landowner was not a member of the Nazi Party but as a deputy of the German-National People's Party and supporter of the "Harzburger Front" he was one of those who helped the fascists to power in 1933. Before 1933 Schlangen-Schöningen was a Minister in Brüning's Cabinet and at the same time "Reichskommissar for Aid to the East". In this position Schlangen-Schöningen extended economic help to the East Prussian junkers and was himself one of those who profited from such Government subsidies. In 1933 he published a book entitled "peasant and soil" in which he made propaganda for Hitler's "living space" policy. The preface to this book, which was published after the Nazis had taken power, stated:

"Now, after the complete change over which has taken place, the time has come for action."

What Schlangen-Schöningen understands as "action" is shown by the slogan which he reprints from Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in his book:

"We want to ride against the East"

The West German Jewish newspaper "Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland", Dusseldorf, published at the beginning of April 1950 extracts from speeches made by Schlangen-Schöningen during the period of the Weimar Republic in which he called for "liberation from the Jewish-Socialist yoke", the return of the "soldierly Bismarckian Reich" and a "folkish policy of action". Schlangen-Schöningen, this junker and antisemite, was forced to admit that these quotations were genuine.

On March 14th 1947 the Westberlin newspaper "Telegraf" had this to say about Schlangen-Schöningen:

"With his past as conservative and nationalist, as East-Elbian and great landowner he should not be surprised, if the people, the workers, the peasants and the middle classes, regard him as an unreconstructed junker, a militarist and opponent of all real progress."

Schlangen-Schöningen does not only represent the interests of the big landowners but is at the same time, particularly since his activity as director of the Bizonal Economic Council, a representative of the West German monopolists.

Nazi Diplomats in all Key Posts

All departments of the Bonn Foreign Office and the most important West German Embassies are staffed with fascists in the same way as the various commissions and delegations which have drafted the Paris Agreement.

Legation Councillor Gottfried von Nostiz, for instance, works in the Foreign Department of the Foreign Ministry. In Ribbentrop's Foreign Mini-

stry he had the rank of Legation Councillor, second class, in the Political Department and in 1935 he was attached to Nazi Ambassador von Papen in Vienna, in which capacity he helped to prepare for the annexation of Austria. Nostiz was mainly responsible for the fact that the Nazi Government failed to reply to the appeal made by the Pope for an armistice pause at Christmas 1939. He was member number 8,156,544 of the Nazi Party and of the Nazi Motorists Corps. From 1941 to 1945 he served as Nazi Consul in Geneva and was main agent of the Hitlerite "Security Service" which occupied itself with kidnapping, the murder of leading emigrants, and international espionage. The Nuremberg tribunal named the "Security Service" as a war criminal organisation. Because of the part he played in the crimes committed by the Security Service he was deported by the Swiss Federal Council in 1945 like Blankenhorn. For the same reason the French Government refused to grant Nostiz a visa for France in 1951.

Legation Councillor First Class in the Personnel Department is Dr. Hans Schwarzmänn, who joined the Nazi Party in 1933 with membership number 3,151,913. He had close family connections with Ribbentrop, since his wife is Frau Ribbentrop's cousin.

The Deputy Chief of the trade department of the Foreign Ministry is Minister Dr. Becker, a former SS officer and special Commissioner of the Nazi Party and the Security Service in Rio de Janeiro. He committed crimes against humanity by delivering to the Gestapo a number of Germans living in Brazil.

Anton Hellmann is Government justiciary in the trade department. He was district leader of the Nazi Party in the Polish city of Kattowice (to-day Stalinogrod).

Nazi diplomats, formerly employed by Ribbentrop, to-day occupy leading positions in West German Embassies abroad. In general Hitler's former Ambassadors and Ministers who became notorious in one particular country have been sent to other countries. In some cases however Chancellor Adenauer is so insolent as to send the old Nazi diplomats back to the countries in which they worked for Hitler.

For instance Dr. Theo Kordt worked from 1934 to 1938 as Nazi Embassy Councillor in Athens. To-day he has been re-appointed as Ambassador to Greece. He was a member of the Nazi Party with membership number 7,054,874. He was one of the main supporters of war against the Soviet Union. As Charge d'Affaires in London, from 1933 to 1939, his main activity was to attempt to influence English policy so that Hitler would have a free hand for his war plans against the East. From 1939 to 1945 he was Embassy Councillor in Berne, Switzerland, in which capacity he transmitted to the Nazi Luftwaffe espionage information about bomb targets in Britain, which he received from agents in Ireland.

His brother, Erich Kordt, was the head of Rippentrop's ministerial office from 1938 to 1940 and was at the same time a member of the staff of the SS Central Office and the SS Personnel Office. He was naturally also a member of the Nazi Party. After 1945 he gathered together a clique

of old Nazi diplomats, including Hasso von Etzdorf, Gottfried von Nostiz, von Kessel and Susanne Simonis. Before the Nuremberg trial of members of the German Foreign Office, Erich Kordt gave special instructions to the members of this group with the aim of obtaining favourable testimony about von Weizsäcker and in order to attain their own "denazification".

Embassy Councillor Schlitter, who was until January 1955 the deputy of Ambassador Schlangen-Schöningen in London, is also one of those Nazi diplomats who during the Nazi period served in the diplomatic service in the same country to which he was later sent by Adenauer.

Schlitter is the son of a leading director of the German Bank. In 1933, as one of the first officials of the Foreign Ministry, he joined the Nazi Party and served from 1936 as Legation Secretary and Head of the Consular Department in the Nazi Embassy in London.

In December 1954 Schlitter came into the public eye when his wife made a speech at an offical party, describing Britain as "an enemy country".

This statement was not a slip of the tongue but a revelation of the ideas of the Nazis who control the West German Foreign Service. Because of the fact that this statement led to an international scandal Adenauer was forced to remove Schlitter from his post.

Fascist pogromists as West German Diplomats

Dr. Herbert Dittmann was appointed by Adenauer as Consul General in Hongkong. Dittmann was a member of the Nazi Party, with membership number 4,789,472. He served as a Nazi diplomat in Moscow, Jerusalem and Teheran until he was promoted in 1941 to the post of Head of the Personnel Department for leading officials in the Hitlerite Foreign Ministry. He was a supporter of the terrorist regime of the Nazis in the occupied countries and reports of the "Einsatzgruppenkommandos" (liquidation commandos) in the Soviet Union passed through his hands and were passed on by him with approbation. Chancellor Adenauer has utilised Dittmann in the same position which he held in Ribbentrop's Foreign Ministry and appointed him Head of the Personnel Department in the West German Foreign Office after another fascist, Haas, who was even more highly compromised, had been removed from this post. The West German parliamentary committee which investigated the Foreign Ministry rejected Dittmann and he had to relinquish his post. Despite this Adenauer appointed him Consul General in Hongkong in August 1953.

Dr. Felix Gaerte is serving as Legation Secretary in the West German Diplomatic Mission in London. Before 1945 he was SS Untersturmführer of the "Reich Security Office". This was the Central Office of the SS which organised the murder of hundreds of thousands of anti-fascist slave labourers and Jews in fascist concentration camps and in occupied territories. The functionaries of this security office, including of course Gaerte, are directly responsible for these crimes. Gaerte was in full

agreement with everything which was done in this office. He was later transferred to the "SS Racial and Settlement Office" which dealt with the deportation and murder of "non-aryans", particularly Jews. Dr. Gaerte was a member of Hitler's old guard and organised the Hitler Youth in Switzerland in 1933.

Werner von Holleben, former personal assistant of war criminal von Neurath, "Reichsprotektor" in occupied Czechoslovakia, is to-day Embassy Councillor in the West German Mission in Holland. Dr. Rolf Kassler is Embassy Councillor and Head of the Passport Department in Belgium. He was formerly head of the legal office of the Nazi Party in Denmark.

Further former members of the Nazi Party employed abroad include Hermann Löper, to-day head of the economic department of the West German Mission in Johannesburg, South Africa, and Dr. Ernst Günther Mohr, West German Minister in Venezuela. Under Hitler Mohr was Deputy Minister in the Hague, Holland, and in this capacity helped to send Dutch Jews to Mauthausen extermination camp. (Document volume 60 B of the Nuremberg Trial of members of the Nazi Foreign Ministry).

Dr. Wilhelm Melchers, member of the Nazi Party with membership number 7,077,242 was Middle Eastern expert in the Nazi Foreign Ministry and close collaborator with the reactionary antisemitic Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hitler's main ally in the Middle East during the second world war. To-day Melchers is the West German Minister in Iraq and Jordan.

Dr. Ruprecht von Keller serves as Embassy Councillor in Ankara, Turkey. He was organised in the naval branch of Hitler's SA, the National Socialist Flying Corps and was member number 8,012,248 of the Nazi Party.

In the Nazi Foreign Ministry he was the right hand man of State Secretary Wörmann who was sentenced as a war criminal by the Nuremberg Tribunal. Keller was very closely allied with the IG Farben. In the Nuremberg trial he appeared as a defence lawyer for IG Farben and from 1948 to 1949 he was Secretary of the "Bizonal IG Farben Decartellisation Committee". He was denazified with the help of Dr. Anton Pfeiffer, former Bavarian Minister of State, brother of Nazi diplomat Dr. Peter Pfeiffer (see below). Keller for his part obtained the appointment of Dr. Anton Pfeiffer as West German Minister in Brussels.

The Office Director of the West German representation in New York is Albrecht von Kessel, member of the Stahlhelm Youth organisation and Obersturmführer of the National Socialist Motorists Corps. In the Nazi period he occupied various diplomatic positions in Switzerland. He is a member of the group organised by Nazi diplomat Kordt.

The West German Charge d'Affaires in the Dominican Republic is Dr. Georg Korth, Legation Councillor first class. During the Nazi period he was German Consul in Johannesburg and delivered a German emigrant into the hands of the Gestapo. The emigrant died as a result of the ill-treatment which he received in Dachau concentration camp.

One of the West German representatives in Amsterdam is Consul Dr. Heinz Lietz, member of the Nazi Party since 1933. In his postwar questionnaires Lietz suppressed all mention of his Nazi Party membership, but despite this was appointed to a diplomatic post.

Hans Papenfuss, to-day a high official in the West German Legation in Costa Rica, was formerly a member of the Nazi Party and head of the training office of the Nazi Party in La Paz.

Freiherr von Richthofen, former SS Scharführer, works as Legation Councillor, first class, in the West German Legation in Ireland.

Ritter von Reichert, to-day Legation Councillor first class in the West German Legation in Portugal, was an official of the Nazi Party leadership in Italy and Liaison Officer between Ribbentrop and Mussolini. Legation Councillor Schmidt-Horix, former member of the SS, works in the German Embassy in Pakistan.

Susanne Simonis, cousin of the fascist diplomats Theo and Erich Kordt, works as Legation Secretary in the West German Mission in London. She was an official of the Nazi Embassy in Tokio, an official of the Nazi Women's Organisation in Tokio and made Nazi propaganda speeches on Tokio radio. For a time she worked in the West German Foreign Office as head of the Women's Section. After the fascist background of the Kordt family had been disclosed, Susanne Simonis was removed from this post but she appeared shortly afterwards in the West German Mission in London.

Dr. Hennig Thomson, Legation Council in Peru, was member of the SS. He was notorious in 1933 in Geneva as Goebbel's SS Body Guard. During the Second World War he worked as Liaison Office of the Nazi Security Service in the German Embassy in Dublin.

Dr. Fritz von Twardowski, West German Ambassador in Mexico, served in the First World War as Commander of a U-Boot. He later joined the Nazi Party and was proposed by Ribbentrop as "Chief of Administration" in the occupied Ukraine.

West German Diplomats Represent the Arms Industry

Apart from the Nazi activists and war criminals a number of representatives of the big arms trusts work in the West German Foreign Service.

Ambassador Dr. Vollrath von Maltzahn, Freiherr zu Wartenburg and Penzlin, a representative of the IG Farben Trust, is, for instance, head of the trade department of the West German Foreign Ministry. This merchant of death worked from 1938 to 1945 in a leading position in the economic-political department of the IG Farben Trust. Maltzahn comes from a Berlin financiers family associated with the "Kommerz- und Privatbank". From 1933 to 1938 he worked in a leading position in Admiral Canaris' Espionage

Service. His closest collaborator in the trade department of the West German Foreign Ministry is Dr. Hilger van Scherpenberg, son-in-law of Hitler's "financial wizard" Hjalmar Schacht.

Georg von Broich-Oppert, Adenauer's Minister in Norway, worked as an expert for the IG Farben Trust during the Second World War. As is well known, IG Farben earned thousands of millions during the second World War as a result of the mass murders in the fascist concentration camps and on the various fronts.

The West German Consul in Atlanta, USA, Dr. Georg Ahrens, is a representative of the electrical trust AEG and worked after 1938 in the Foreign Department of the AEG in Berlin.

Dr. Hermann Terdenge, West German Ambassador in Argentina, was from 1937 to 1945 Export Chief of the Quandt firm for South America. The main factory owned by this firm is the "German Weapon and Ammunition Works" and it also owns such arms factories as the Mauser works.

Dr. Josef Jansen, to-day West German Minister in Luxembourg, worked from 1934 to 1935 as an official of the Export Department of the Rhine-Westphalian Coal Syndicate and from 1936 to 1938 as business director of the Greek electric bulb factory in Athens, a daughter company of the Osram Concern. From 1943 to 1945 he was Manager of the Ruhr Wholesale Traders Association in Essen.

Adenauer Protects the Nazi Diplomats

Soon after the foundation of the West German separatist state, details became known about the concentration of leading Nazi diplomats in the West German Foreign Office. In March 1951 the American paper "Inside Germany Information" published a list of former Nazi diplomats who had obtained responsible positions in the West German Foreign Ministry. The British Reuter Agency published a story on July 28th 1951, disclosing that a large number of former nazi diplomats were serving in Adenauer's Foreign Ministry. The West German public was shocked by disclosures then made in the "Frankfurter Rundschau" by the journalist Michael Mansfeld who had studied the Protocols of the various Nuremberg Trials and the documents on the Nazi Foreign Ministry. On March 17th 1952 the Bavarian Radio, West Germany, disclosed that about 85 per cent of all leading officials in the West German Foreign Ministry were former members of the Nazi Party. The astounding fact was thus made public that there was a higher percentage of active Nazis in the West German Foreign Ministry than there had been in the fascist Foreign Ministry under Ribbentrop.

This fact was confirmed even by the "Rheinischer Merkur", the personal organ of West German Chancellor Adenauer. On April 18th 1952 this newspaper published the following statistics on the composition of the West German Foreign Office.

	Leading Officials	former Nazi Party members	Nazi Foreign Office Officials
Personnel Department	19	14	18
Political Department	10	10	10
Foreign Department	8	7	7
Legal Department	8	5	6
Trade Department	5	5	5
Cultural Department	4	3	—
Protocol Department	3	2	—
Total	57	46	46

If further proof was needed of this state of affairs it was provided by Dr. Robert Kempner, former US Deputy Chief Prosecutor, who stated that the articles quoted above "contain many facts the correctness of which is known to me and many others on the basis of numerous documents from the old Foreign Ministry".

Under the pressure of public opinion, Adenauer's clique was finally forced to set up an investigation commission of the West German Parliament which had to examine whether persons were employed in the Foreign Service

"whose conduct during the National Socialist rule of force was calculated to undermine in the future the confidence at home and abroad in the democratic development of the German Federal Republic."

The investigation commission was forced to answer this question affirmatively. Chancellor Adenauer was forced to admit in the West German Parliament the truth of these charges, but despite this he protected these fascists.

According to the official report of the Parliamentary Session of October 22nd 1952 Adenauer declared:

"Herr Erler has stated, quite rightly, that the higher we go the more nazis we find. I believe, he said, that this applies from Ministerial Director upwards. This is correct... It is correct that among the officials named by Herr Erler, from the rank of Referent... about 66 per cent are former members of the Nazi Party. But I believe, if you consider the situation calmly that you will not say that anything else could have been done. It is impossible to build up the Foreign Ministry, if you do not have at least in the main positions people who know something about this business from before... I believe we should now stop 'smelling out Nazis, since if we start with this, nobody knows where it will all end."

Adenauer is opposed to "smelling out Nazis", since he wishes to use in all fields the experiences of these unreconstructed fascists for his own plans of aggression. He needs people who "know something about this business from before" — that is to say experts in provocation and lying,

sabotage and espionage, war and mass destruction. For this reason the conclusions reached by the Parliamentary Commission could not change the flooding of the West German Foreign Ministry with nazi diplomats. A few Hitlerite diplomats who were particularly compromised disappeared from the Foreign Ministry itself but they reappeared soon afterwards in the various Embassies and Legations like Dittmann, Bargen and Susanne Simonis.

Chancellor Adenauer has continued to appoint old war criminals as diplomats. The naming of the Nazi diplomat Dr. Peter Pfeiffer to the post of West German observer with the United Nations aroused international public opinion and Adenauer was forced to cancel the appointment. Pfeiffer was a member of the Nazi Party, with membership number 8, 128, 186 and was a keen supporter of the fascist policy of "holding out to the bitter end". He was Nazi Consul General in Algiers, and when Allied troops landed there in November 1942 he sent the following telegram to Hitler:

"The city is under artillery fire. This is my last telegram. Long live the Führer! Pfeiffer."

In 1951 Adenauer named this old Nazi as Head of the Diplomatic School in Speyer and thus charged him with training young diplomats of the West German Foreign Ministry. In 1952 Pfeiffer took over the leadership of the Personnel Department of the Foreign Ministry from Dittmann, another old Nazi. The persons employed in the West German Foreign Ministry may change, but the fascist spirit remains.

The facts show clearly that Adenauer's clique employs the worst types of fascists in the foreign service. In March 1954 there was a great smuggling scandal in the West German Foreign Ministry involving almost all the leading officials named in this chapter. This shows the moral decay and lack of character of this fascist clique. West German press reports show that the leading officials mainly concerned in the smuggling included Dr. von Kessel, von Etzdorf, Dr. Pfeiffer, Korth, Keller, Blankenhorn, Hallstein, Grawe and Maltzahn.

With the help of these diplomats, together with the generals and the arms kings, Adenauer is preparing to put into effect his plans for war and conquest and to use the experiences of these Hitlerite diplomats in breaking international treaties and subjugating and plundering foreign countries to the advantage of revived German imperialism.

III.

The Integration of German Militarism in the North Atlantic Pact Organisation and Western European Union

In the preceding chapters the restoration of German militarism by the Paris Agreements has been described. However, the Paris Agreements do not only provide for the remilitarisation of West Germany but in addition greatly increase the dangers connected with this step by:

1. integrating revived German militarism which has come to power again in West Germany in NATO, the military Atlantic Pact Organisation;
2. including remilitarised West Germany in the military coalition of West Europe provided by the conversion of the Brussels Pact of March 17th 1948 into the so-called "Western European Union."

These clauses of the Paris Agreements change the internal division of power in these military pactsystems and thus sharpen their aggressive aims. The adhesion of West Germany to NATO and the Western European Union gives the German militarists free hand for their war preparations and at the same time threatens the German people with civil war and threatens the whole of humanity with a new world war.

New Factors in the Content and Character of the Atlantic Pact Organisation

On April 4th 1949 the Western Powers, on the initiative of the USA, formed the "North Atlantic Pact Organisation", a military grouping including the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Italy, Portugal, Greece and Turkey.

The initiators of this military pact have repeatedly stated that it is of a purely defensive character and is not directed against any other group of states. However, apart from the fact that the formation of limited military groupings always leads to a sharpening of international tensions and to the formation of a common front against states not included in the Pact, the

NATO has a frankly anti-Soviet and aggressive character. The Soviet Union which played the main part as a member of the anti-Hitler coalition in overthrowing Hitlerite fascism has never been asked to join this pact. On the contrary, the readiness of the Soviet Union to join this pact, as expressed in the Soviet Note dated March 31st 1954, was brusquely rejected. In this Pact there is no word about the prevention of new acts of aggression by German militarism.

The fact that the Western Powers, through the Paris Agreements of October 23rd 1954, intend to integrate rearmed German militarism directly into this Pact system, completely unmasks it as an aggressive military alliance. The eagerness which the governments of the USA, Britain and France show in restoring German militarism leads to the conclusion that the initiators of NATO have felt the lack of one decisive ingredient — the most aggressive and reactionary imperialists, the German militarists.

On April 2nd 1952 General Eisenhower, at that time NATO Supreme Commander in Europe, referred to West Germany in his annual report in these words:

"Here in the heart of Europe lies an area of 246,000 square kilometres with a population of 50 million hard working and highly qualified people. West Germany, which is rich in raw materials and industry, produces half as much steel as the other West European states together. The coal reserves of the Ruhr and the industrial centres which it supplies with power represent one of the most important economic features of Europe."

(General Dwight Eisenhower's Annual Report, German Edition, Frankfurt/Main 1952)

With barbaric frankness the man who is to-day President of the United States makes an expert calculation of the arms and manpower potential, the manoeuvre fields and the deployment area, the potential forced labour and the cannon fodder of West Germany. He adds to all this the unscrupulous nazi butchers as commanders and comes to the conclusion that West Germany must be integrated with all speed in the European arms Pact system of the USA.

In April 1951 the Montan Union was founded, the "European Community for Coal and Steel", and in May 1952 the Bonn and Paris treaties, intended to lay the groundwork for the European Defence Community, were signed. EDC and the Bonn Treaty which was coupled with it landed on the refuse heap of history on August 30th 1954.

After this reverse the aggressive forces in the USA decided upon a frontal attack on the people of Europe and the peace of the world. They constructed a system of pacts which on the one hand meet the wishes of the American and German imperialists and on the other hand give the impression of a "control" over West German rearment. This purpose is served by the integration of restored German militarism in the Atlantic Pact, coupled with the treaty on Western European Union. The aim of these

pacts is to integrate a remilitarised West Germany which has agreed to the indefinite stationing of occupation troops in its territory and which has become the main American partner in West Europe through its dominant position in the Brussels Pact. For this purpose the Paris Protocol on membership of West Germany in NATO states that after the ratification of the amended Brussels Pact and after ratification by the Western Powers of the Convention on the presence of foreign forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, the American Government, in the name of all participants, shall invite the West German Government to adhere to the North Atlantic Pact.

The parties to the NATO Pact regard only this Germany, with its Kesselrings, Gallands, Blanks and Manteuffels, as an equal partner. It is only this part of Germany which delivers up its youth to the military orders of the generals. This anti-national remilitarised part of Germany, robbed of every remnant of democracy, is intended to play a dominant role under American supervision.

Sharpening the Aggressive Character of NATO

It is necessary to put the question: Are the NATO Powers entering into alliance with German militarism because it has proved itself to be in the past peace-loving and ready to negotiate? Can such an alliance serve European security as the NATO politicians allege?

In West Germany to-day politics, economics and the army are controlled by the old revengeful circles, by the monopolists who expect big profits from rearmament, and by old Hitlerite generals who only yesterday committed their crimes in the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. The allegation made by the initiators of these pacts that these forces will strengthen the "defensive character of NATO" is to mislead the peoples. Such a military block can never serve peace and the security of the nation. Precisely the fact that the German militarists play a leading role in this block makes it a danger to all nations of Europe and above all a danger for the German people behind whose backs this plot is being forged.

The Paris Agreements lead to the conclusion that the adhesion of the particularly aggressive and reactionary German militarists and revengeful politicians, armed with atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, only heightens the warlike, antidemocratic and crusading character of the aggressive NATO Pact.

The fourteen States which hitherto belonged to the Atlantic Pact Organisation were bound according to Article III of the Treaty to unlimited rearmament and by article IV to "joint consultations", if anyone of them believes that the territorial integrity, the political independence or the security of any of the fourteen Pact partners was threatened, even if they themselves were not threatened. The West German war politicians will be only too inclined to use this clause in order to implicate the states, with which they are allied, in warlike complications.

This is particularly true of the central point of the Pact, the automatic war clause in Article V in which in case of an "armed attack" on one of the States, all of the fourteen or fifteen States are bound to take.

"such action as they deem necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

The harmless wording of this clause awakes the impression that such joint action is only intended in the case of an armed attack, and then only in the manner which each individual state thinks necessary. The Pact however does not define what a "armed attack" is, and thus leaves it up to the "feelings" of the attacked partner or to one of its more warlike Allies, to declare that a cause for war has been given.

In addition Article IV of the Pact states that not only the territory of the member states, including Algeria in the case of France, is included, but also their ships, planes and occupation troops within this territory. This means that for instance a strike of West German forced labourers who were being particularly exploited by one of the Occupation Powers, a patriotic demonstration, or even an election meeting or election result contrary to the wishes of the Occupation Regime, could be used to set this whole machinery of power in motion. The Danish jurist Dr. Erik Brüel, a supporter of the NATO Pact and publisher of the "Nordisk Tidsskrift for International Ret" stated in the West German "Archives for International Law" 1953/54 page 295:

"The liberty given to each party to decide what means it will use as reaction against an attack is thus more of juridical and theoretical interest than of a practical and political nature."

This means for instance that if the Americans want arms to be used in a situation which they have declared to be threatening, then the other Pact signatories will have no other path but to provide the cannon fodder as rapidly as they can. In the case of West Germany, this could mean that the demolition charges in the cliffs of the Rhine and in the bridges and roads of West Germany could be exploded. This could also mean that if the revengeful gamblers in the particularly aggressive circles of German militarism should wish to launch a provocation in the best SS tradition, they could for instance automatically force France and Italy to participate in this murderous idiocy.

The Atlantic Pact states with apparent correctitude that the states taking action must notify the Security Council without delay and have to terminate their actions

"when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security."

But this paragraph only sounds reassuring. Of course the Soviet Union is a permanent member of the Security Council — and if the United Nations acted legally the Chinese People's Republic would also be a member — and of course the permanent members of the Security Council cannot be outvoted

in such a case according to the Constitution of the UN. But does anybody really believe that when it came to the point, the aggressors would worry about this? Apart from this the apparently correct clause of the Atlantic Pact is actually deceptive.

This clause lays down that the States concerned should terminate their measures only after the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore international peace and security (And this not only in the so-called Atlantic area). Whether in fact the measures taken by the Security Council would be the "necessary" ones has to be decided by the States taking action, as the Danish commentator Dr. Eric Brüel pointed out.

In addition the Atlantic Pact lays down the duty of notifying the Security Council without delay but no provision is made for action, if this is not done. Dr. Eric Brüel comments ironically that in view of this the "self defence measures" may be continued for a long period.

In a crisis, therefore, the Atlantic Pact gives the warmongers a free hand to do what they want merely by claiming that they have been subject to armed attack. As is well known aggressors have a very good imagination in inventing attacks against which they have to "protect" themselves. In the Ethiopian war Mussolini attacked Ethiopia with tanks, gas and bombs because Italian frontier troops had allegedly been "attacked" at Wal-Wal. Hitler organised with the help of his SS "frontier incidents" before he attacked Czechoslovakia and again before he attacked Poland. For the past twenty years the Soviet Union has been demanding a clear-cut formulation of what constitutes aggression, and it is not a coincidence that the aggressive circles have always opposed such a formulation which they say is not "elastic" enough. When the United States politicians to-day use every method to ally themselves with German militarism which has been so fertile in inventing grounds for aggression, this must be based upon the aggressive aims of the NATO Pact. This is not difficult to demonstrate.

The Aims of NATO

Many important NATO representatives, American generals and politicians, have stated quite plainly that they aim at a new war in order to dominate the world. Speaking in Boston in August 1950, US Navy Minister Matthews stated:

"The United States should make it clear to the world that they are ready to start a war in order to force the peaceful cooperation of the nations."

In this context "peaceful cooperation" naturally entails unquestioning cooperation with the American aggressive block, that is to say complete subjugation. Commenting on the speech the West-Berlin newspaper "Kurier" stated that Minister Matthews had:

"only said out loud what leading civilian and military personalities have for a long time been discussing in secret."

("Kurier", August 29th 1950)

A few months later, in May 1951, US General Bradley, at that time Chairman of the Combined Chiefs of Staff had this to say to a Senate Committee:

"If we should take part in a Third World War, it will be the Soviet Union which will have to be destroyed."

("New Times", Moscow, No. 44, 1954, page 6)

Major General Robert Grow, former US Military Attaché in Moscow, noted in his private diary which was later published:

"We need a voice which clearly takes over leadership. Communism must be destroyed... We must hit below the belt... War! As quickly as possible! Now!"

General Curtiss Le May, Commander in Chief of the US Strategic Bombing Command, declared in May 1954:

"American atomic bombers can take off in any weather, fly to anywhere in the world and destroy any target. We know who the potential enemy is... We have always got to assume that perhaps to-day will be the day. Every step we take is based on this assumption."

General Kenny, former Commander of the American Air Forces in the Pacific, speaking to the American Legion in September 1954, gave the name of the "potential enemy". He said:

"A war with the Soviet Union appears to me to be unavoidable. The idea of peaceful coexistence is simply humbug."

In June 1953, after a visit made by Chancellor Adenauer to the United States, the "American Mercury" offered the West German revenge politicians a definite programme of annexations for the preparation of a German civil war:

"If we give the Germans weapons and equal rights in the Atlantic Defence Community, and also the hope that the East German zone can be liberated and the lost territories East of the Oder-Neisse Line can be won back in a war, then there can be little doubt that we can win the Germans as our most reliable allies."

On the basis of the Paris Agreements it is intended now to put this into practice. The tested SS war criminals who will head the German NATO contingents will be supplied with atomic cannon and plague-bearing insects and these "Allies" will know how to start a world war.

US General Gruenther, the present Supreme Commander of the NATO forces, admitted in March 1952, when he addressed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American House of Representatives, that he did not believe that the Soviet Union was going to attack Western Europe. Speaking in Philadelphia on March 10th 1954, he sketched his programme:

"In the next two or three years we shall be able to launch an attack with long range and short range planes, with guided missiles and with

artillery. I envisage atomic weapons. It depends upon us whether there will be a Third World war."

These statements have not been made by irresponsible journalists but by official representatives of the Atlantic Alliance. If these statements are not enough to disclose the warmongering character of this alliance, then it is only necessary to consider the reaction to the offer made by the Soviet Union on March 31st 1954 to join the Atlantic Pact in order to do away with its exclusive and aggressive character. The reaction from French politician Bidault was the shocked cry: "Then the whole Pact will lose its purpose." The American government rejected the Soviet offer as soon as the news came in and before the text of the Soviet Note had been received.

NATO and the other Aggressive Pacts

The most convincing proof of the role of the NATO Pact is given when one considers it together with the network of similar subjugation and encirclement Pacts of a similar type.

There is for instance the uncancelable Security Pact imposed by the American interventionists on Japan in 1951. This Pact which was imposed with the help of the treacherous Yoshida government in Japan imposes upon Japan a role analogous to that of the West German Federal Republic in Western Europe, since it calls for the erection of more than 700 American bases on Japanese soil and converts Japan into the main Asiatic vassal of the United States monopolists. Then there are the alliances concluded by the United States with such shabby fascist figures as Chiang Kai Shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai and the Basic Agreement concluded in September 1953 with Franco, formerly the protégé of Hitler and Mussolini.

Another example is the "Anti-Communist Declaration" issued in March 1954 by the Latin American States meeting in Caracas. They issued this declaration under strong pressure from Secretary of State Dulles, and the declaration was the culminating point of an American campaign, decades old, for the subjugation of Latin America.

Still further examples are given by the network of treaties and pacts in the Near and Middle East and the British-Egyptian Agreement on Suez. The picture of the plans for world domination of American imperialism, which threatens all nations, is rounded off by the SEATO Pact, concluded in the Far East in September 1954.

A New Edition of the Anti-Comintern Pact

On November 29th 1954, US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated in Chicago that the "free world" had far-reaching protection against armed attack through this "chain of Security Pacts" but that it was still menaced by the danger of Communist subversion. It is no coincidence that he made

this statement on the same day as the opening of the Moscow Conference of European States to guarantee Peace and Security in Europe. Referring to the "Anti-Communist Declaration" of Caracas the US Secretary of State then made the provocative announcement:

"A collective action to eradicate international communism is not an act of intervention in the internal affairs of another State but is an act to uproot intervention."

Is there any difference between this attitude and the delusions of the Anti-Comintern Pact, the authors of which were sent to the gallows by the international military Tribunal in 1946? This theory means in effect that the non-intervening state, if the gentlemen in Washington do not like its state form, can be declared to be an "intervener" and an aggression against this state can then be declared a "defensive police action". Dulles made it quite plain that this was not simply a theory designed to destroy the international rule of law but a very practical war threat against the states of the peace camp. In his speech he expressed his regret that one third of humanity was to-day outside his sphere of influence and declared:

"But we do not regard that as immutable... Liberation normally comes from within. But it is more apt to come from within if hope is constantly sustained from without. And that we are doing in many ways."

This is the ideology of the Fifth Column, declared more cynically than even Hitler dared to declare it; the ideology of the international burglar. The meaning of this declaration for West Europe and West Germany may be seen from some further remarks made by Dulles in the course of a polemic against the Soviet Union, remarks which disclosed the two motives of American policy in Europe:

"West Europe with its vast industrial power is a prize of the first order for any who would seek world domination."

To make sure of this prey the American politicians aiming at such domination have replaced the formulation "armed attack" in the Atlantic Pact by the new formula defined at Caracas "obtaining political control through international communism". All democratic and liberation movements are arbitrarily declared to be "communist". (Dulles' speech quoted above was printed in the New York Times, November 30th 1954.)

The old SS leaders in their new NATO uniforms will therefore have nothing to forget and will only have to learn still further cynicism and more open treachery.

Who Commands NATO?

The situation of the Supreme Commander of the NATO forces is very significant. Section IV of the London "final act" signed on October 3rd 1954 grants the American Supreme Commander of the NATO forces in Europe, entitled SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) rights which make

him in fact a dictator in West Europe. Section IV (a) places under his command all the armed forces of the NATO states stationed on the European Continent, and he has the right of decision as to which national armed forces shall remain under national command, either now or in the future. Under Section IV (b) the SACEUR deploys the forces on the Continent. Under Section IV (c) he only has to consult the national Authorities about the location of these forces and to obtain their "agreement" with the help of the power position in which he has been placed. Section IV (d) states that such forces shall not be re-deployed on the Continent or used operationally on the continent without the consent of the SACEUR. Section IV (e) lays down quite clearly:

"Forces placed under the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent shall be integrated as far as possible consistent with militant efficiency."

Section IV (f) gives the American Supreme Commander in Western Europe also full control of "arrangements for the closer coordination of logistics". Section IV (g) gives him the right of inspection of the "forces . . . , the armaments and equipment, logistics and reserve formations". And all these rights are granted for an unlimited period. Article XIII of the original Atlantic Pact laid down that the Pact should be valid for twenty years but the London Final Act stated that "in the view of all the governments represented the North Atlantic Treaty should be regarded as of indefinite duration". This means in effect that the American Supreme Commander has been granted for an indefinite period the role of a military dictator on the European Continent.

War Threat against States Quitting the Pact

The London Final Act and the "Declaration of the Three Powers" which forms part of the Paris Agreement contain a clause by which the Western Powers regard every "threat to the integrity and unity of the Atlantic Alliance" as a "threat to their own peace and safety". This clause states:

"In the event of any such action the three governments will consider the offending government as having forfeited its rights to any guarantee and any military assistance provided for in the North Atlantic Treaty and its Protocols. They will act in accordance with Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty with a view to taking other measures which may be appropriate."

The very strong wording of this clause has the main aim of declaring as a breach of the peace any attempt by a future West German government to break away from the Atlantic Pact, or the creation of a national, peaceable and democratic All-German Government. Under the terms of this clause this would automatically set the war apparatus of the Atlantic Block in motion. This clause of the Paris Agreements therefore states that if

Germany should reach unity outside the framework of the Atlantic Alliance this will entail the outbreak of the American war.

This ultimatum is further sharpened by the fact that paragraph 1 of the same declaration declares that the Federal Republic is "the only German Government . . . entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs." It is further sharpened by the fact that Article 7 of the original Bonn Treaty lays down that the Western Powers will only accept a unified Germany, based on a "Constitution like that of the Federal Republic and integrated within the European Community". This means a Germany integrated in the aggressive Pact system of Brussels and Washington.

It is clear these conditions offend against the generally accepted principles of international law and in particular against the right of national self determination and sovereignty for all states, peoples and nations defined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is also directed against the ban on intervention in the internal affairs of other nations and against the specific pledge entered into by the Western Powers and the Soviet Union in the Potsdam Agreement of August 2nd 1945 for the establishment of a unified Germany.

The complete dissolution of legal conditions in the London and Paris Agreements is shown by the fact that the same Powers which have completely ignored the word and the spirit of the Potsdam Agreement and which regard this agreement as having ceased to exist, always like to refer to their rights and "responsibilities" under this agreement when this appears favourable, particularly with regard to their presence in Berlin, the capital of Germany.

The history of imperialism is rich in the forcible breach of treaties. The London and Paris Agreements however, represent a degree of destruction of international law not even exceeded by Hitlerite fascism, and they give a clear view of the threat which the "politicians of strength" represent to all nations of the world.

New Aspects in the Character of the Western European Union

Since Dulles and Adenauer were not able to obtain the direct acceptance of West Germany in the North Atlantic Pact they invented a new connection with the "Western European Union", the new form given to the Brussels Pact. This was done in order to give the peoples of West Europe the impression that limits and controls had been imposed upon the West German politicians of revenge and Hitlerite generals.

In practice however the German militarists have not been subjected to the Brussels Pact and the needs of the members of this Pact, but the Brussels Pact has been adjusted to the plans, needs and aims of the West German militarists. This organisation has been changed in its aims, its composition, the distribution of power, the concrete tasks and the position of power.

a) Modification of Aims

There has been no parallel in the history of international agreements to the change made by the Paris Agreements in the openly declared aim of the Brussels Pact. On March 17th 1948 five West European States led by Great Britain came together in order, according to the decisive paragraph of the Preamble to the Brussels Pact to "take such steps as may be held necessary in the event of a renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression."

It was obviously necessary to strike out this decisive sentence from the Preamble of the Brussels Pact when remilitarised West Germany with its fascist generals and many hundreds of fascist soldiers' associations joined the Pact. The new Western European Union was quite publicly given exactly the opposite goal, that is to say the re-activation of a German policy of aggression. In this connection certain Western politicians, who have learned nothing from history, appear to believe that a renewed German imperialistic aggression against the East will not begin this time, as in the past, with an attack on the weaker states of the West. The sentence from the Preamble to the Brussels Pact has been replaced by the following sentence:

"To promote the unity and to encourage the progressive integration of Europe."

Everybody experienced in understanding the language of Western diplomacy knows that they mean by "European unity" the partitioning of Europe into two mutually exclusive military groupings facing each other. In accordance with this aim the Brussels Pact does not set itself the task of organising all European States, independent of their social economic order and their political constitution but of organising a small part of them, the seven States lying on the Western and Southern periphery of Europe and placing their manpower and military potential at the service of American imperialism. In fact, the new Western European Union is only a substitute for the European Defence Community which was rejected by the peoples of Europe. If the drafters of the amendments to this Pact had been honest, they would have replaced the words "defence against a renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression" by the words "resumption by Germany militarists of a policy of aggression".

The amendment made by the Paris Agreements has thus converted the originally allegedly anti-militarist aims of the Pact into a clear cut instrument of militarist restoration.

b) The Modified Composition

The change in aim has been accompanied by a modification in composition. The original Brussels Pact in 1948 was a separatist Pact concluded by five West European States and excluding the others, but its members did not include such a politically and morally rotten regime as the Scelba regime in Italy and a West Germany controlled by Nazis and other mili-

tarists. This modified composition has provided an obviously aggressive spearhead for the old separatist pact.

c) The Modified Distribution of Power

Under these circumstances the internal distribution of power is of particular importance. The original Brussels Pact, which was intended to remain in force until 1998, possessed only a very weak collective organisation with consultative function. The new Council of Western European Union has, on the other hand, been granted decisive powers. These decisive powers have been granted to the Council at a moment when West German War Minister Blank or some other representative of German militarism is appointed to membership. It is clear that a country like West Germany with its arms potential and greater population will not have any difficulty in exerting pressure upon countries like the Benelux states. This means that in the decisive Council West Germany would not have any great difficulty in quadrupling its vote, thus attaining a majority in this Council. It is not necessary to emphasize this point when the aggressive aims and imperialist practices of the German militarists are considered.

It is important that American Secretary of State Dulles, in his report on the Paris Conference on October 25th 1954 emphasized that the Council of the Western European Union was a

"supra-national organisation in the sense that many important decisions would be taken not unanimously but by a majority vote."

d) The New Main Aims

This is particularly important in view of the concrete main aims laid down for the Western European Union in the London Final Act and the Paris Agreements. To reassure the peoples it was necessary to include in these Agreements a whole series of regulations on the control of armaments and to establish a control mechanism. This control was placed in the hands of an Armament Control Office subsidiary to the Council of the Western European Union, that is to say in effect subsidiary to West German War Minister Blank and his satellites. This is what the Article IV of the Protocol modifying the Brussels Pact has to say about this decisive point:

"The Council... will decide by simple majority questions submitted to it by the Agency for the Control of Armaments".

This entails in effect a "self control" which means in final analysis completely uncontrolled rearmament. The influence of the West German militarists in the constitution and running of the Agency for the Control of Armaments is shown by the fact that the original West German 500,000-man army will be 140,000 men stronger than the French land forces in France and North Africa. In addition the London Final Act, Section IIc, foresaw that the maximum defence contribution of all members of the

Brussels Pact Organisation could be increased. In addition the official NATO contingents will be reinforced by the "internal defence forces" and by the police units of the member states. Article 5 of Protocol II of the Paris Agreements laid down that the strength and armaments of these forces

"shall be fixed... having regard to their proper functions and needs and to their existing level."

Undoubtedly the particular danger for the German people of the policy of the Adenauer Regime and the resultant growing resistance of the patriotic population of West Germany against this regime will lead to a particularly strong "need for internal defence and police forces" on the part of the militarist powers in West Germany. By these means it will be possible to increase at any time the forces in West Germany without committing a breach of the Paris Agreements.

The very control regulations in the various agreements cancel themselves out, both with regard to the method of their execution and the steps resulting upon a breach. The Paris "Protocol No. IV on the Agency of Western European Union for the Control of Armaments" states in Article 11 that the tests carried out at irregular intervals

"shall be conducted in a spirit of harmony and cooperation".

The Agency for the Control of Armaments will work together with the national Authorities which can participate in the inspection. The German militarists have experience from the time of the "Black Reichswehr" in camouflaged rearmament but it is not necessary to have such experience in order to avoid any consequences from such "harmonious" inspections. The aim of these paragraphs is not to limit and control armaments but to mislead the peoples.

This is shown by the sanctions to be imposed, if a breach of the limitations is ascertained, either owing to the clumsiness of the inspectors or in order to make the control mechanism appear effective. "Unimportant" breaches will lead to a message from the Council to the member states (in practice this will mean that War Minister Blank will inform Blank that he himself has broken the regulation.) "Other" breaches can lead to the demand for an explanation within a certain period. No real sanctions are foreseen.

In addition the Western European Council can cancel with a two thirds vote, that means with five votes, most of the arms bans accepted by Adenauer under Section II, paragraph 15 of the London Final Act, if this is recommended by American Supreme Commander of NATO. The West German militarists can obviously depend upon such a recommendation, so that the regulations about arms limitation and the system of armament control have no real meaning. The whole system is a huge fraud designed to mislead the nations who mistrust the peace promises of the German militarists and so to drag these nations into the preparation of the American war in Europe.

e) The Role of Western European Union

The Paris Agreements assign a new role to the organisation of Western European Union. The decisive new paragraphs deal with the "close cooperation" with NATO and its American Supreme Commander. Article III of the Paris Protocol modifying the Brussels Treaty states that the partners to the Brussels Pact

"shall work in close cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation."

This Article of the Protocol inserts a completely new article in the Brussels Treaty which states:

"In the execution of the Treaty the High Contracting Parties and any organs established by them under the treaty shall work in close cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Recognising the undesirability of duplicating the military staffs of NATO the Council and its Agency will rely on the appropriate military authorities of NATO for information and advice on military matters."

In other words the NATO Authorities of the American imperialists are responsible for the integration of West Europe in the imperialist policy of the USA. This is the spirit which pervades the Protocol on the forces of the Western European Union, on the so-called control of armament and the Agency for the Control of Armaments.

The new factor in the Brussels Pact Organisation is its unconditional subjection to the American Authorities of the NATO, for which the Brussels Powers play simply the role of puppets. In addition the aggressive forces of West Germany will have a powerful influence in the new Western European Union and this receives double importance from the fact that the American imperialists rely upon the German militarists in carrying out their plans.

f) The "Parliamentary Facade"

A modest parliamentary facade has been constructed by the Paris Agreements for the control mechanism of the Brussels Pact. Article V of the Protocol Modifying and Completing the Brussels Treaty inserts a new article XI in the Brussels Treaty which reads as follows:

"The Council of Western European Union shall make annual report on its activities and in particular concerning the control of armaments to an assembly composed of representatives of the Brussels Treaty Powers to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe."

It is obvious that this parliamentary facade is just as unimportant as the whole work of the consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe which has no power of decision. This modest parliamentary facade is merely intended to cover the fraudulent character of the Control Regulations.

The re-activated Brussels Pact only has political importance as a dependency of the North Atlantic Pact which is the real political centre and military crystallisation point needed as the aggressive instrument of the American "policy of strength". It is therefore not surprising that Article VI of the Paris Protocol Modifying and Completing the Brussels Treaty lays down that the Western European Union shall come into force when the instrument of accession of the Federal Republic of Germany to the North Atlantic Treaty has been deposited with the Government of the United States of America.

Atom Bomb Strategy Threatens West Germany

The integration of West Germany in the aggressive North Atlantic Pact system represents a particular threat to the German people. The danger of a murderous atomic war looms on the West German horizon. The Foreign Ministers of the North Atlantic Pact states made decisions at their meeting in Paris on December 17th and 18th 1954 which mean that in a new war atomic weapons of all types would be used under all circumstances.

In July last year a "Study Commission of Western Experts", meeting under the chairmanship of US General Gruenther came to the following conclusion about future warfare:

1. Future wars will unavoidably be atomic wars...
2. Future strategy will aim at the immediate destruction of enemy troops...
3. The climax of destruction will be sited at the commencement of hostilities..."

("Aachener Nachrichten", July 26th 1954)

It is thus the aim of the NATO strategists to start a third world war as an atomic war. In accordance with this the Paris meeting of the NATO Council made the following decision:

"NATO must base its strategic planning completely upon the use of such tactical atomic weapons as atomic artillery, guided missiles and small atom bombs. If at a decisive moment there is a chance of discussing the use of these weapons, this shall be done. In any other case the defence plans already prepared shall automatically go into effect."

("Die Welt", December 23rd 1954)

Thus according to the Paris Agreements the American imperialists shall have the right to decide, when, where and on what scale an atomic war shall be started. The "Neue Zeitung" stated on December 18th 1954 that the use of weapons of mass destruction had been "decided upon by the highest political quarters and previous consultation with the governments of all 14 member states had not been made a condition". This shows clearly that at a time of decision the American war politicians would not think of asking any one whether they agreed to the use of atomic weapons or not.

The article in the "Welt" of December 23rd 1954, quoted above, leaves no doubt about the situation. Reporting on the NATO Council meeting this paper stated:

"The USA has reserved for itself the decision on the use of strategic atomic weapons for massive retaliatory attacks on the Soviet Union."

The fascist Second World War showed how such "retaliatory attacks" can be staged. At that time, as is well known, the Nazis themselves bombed the German town of Freiburg, and then claimed that the town had been bombed by the planes of the Western Powers, in order to have an excuse for launching "retaliatory attacks" on British cities. There can be no doubt that the American imperialists would not hesitate to use such inhuman provocation when they thought that the time had come to launch a war against the Soviet Union.

The integration of West Germany in the aggressive Atlantic Pact and the decisions taken in Paris by the NATO Council mean that in the case of war West Germany would be converted into a zone of fire and radioactive contamination.

The strategic position of West Germany as the main deployment area of the NATO states would mean that West Germany was the first country in which weapons of mass destruction will be used. Every German can judge for himself the terrible effects of such a policy for the people, the towns and villages and the industry of West Germany.

On December 18th 1954 the London conservative newspaper "Daily Mail" revealed that the NATO General Staff already has plans for creating a radio-active zone at the beginning of the planned war in West Germany. The paper stated:

"This would be done largely by dropping waste materials. The zone would be such that no life would survive there. It could remain as a barrier if necessary for years."

No one should believe that West Germany would be untouched by atomic war because such a war would begin "further East". The entire strategic conception of NATO in West Europe leads to the conclusion that above all West Germany would be affected by such barbaric war. The American 10-inch atomic cannon which have a range of about 30 kilometres and are difficult to transport are stationed in the Western part of the German Federal Republic. The 81st US fighter squadron, stationed in Britain, has been equipped with planes which as "Die Welt" stated on December 14th 1954 have been equipped "with special equipment for dropping atom bombs". These planes have a range of about 800 kilometres, which means they would be able to fly about as far as the Elbe.

The NATO generals would, however, not be satisfied simply with the use of atomic weapons. They would also include bacteriological warfare in their programme, as they did in Korea. On December 24th 1954 the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" quoted a statement made by William M. Creasy,

chief of the Department of Biological and Chemical Warfare of the United States Army. General Creasy said:

"Under such circumstances biological weapons are a weapon which can considerably increase the effects of war on the civilian population. It is thus conceivable that large parts of the population of an industrial area should be infected with fatal or crippling biological material... Perhaps the germ of pest, typhus or cholera... There are also many types of material designed to infect animals and effect vegetation..."

The supporters of such barbaric modes of warfare are real brutes who have taken the decision to wipe out life itself. If such people obtain control over West Germany by including West Germany in the American NATO plans then there is endless danger of the complete destruction of West Germany.

The occupation troops in West Germany are already preparing themselves for this type of warfare. The British Reuter Agency, reporting on the NATO manoeuvres held in West Germany in autumn 1954, stated:

"A brown and black mushroom of smoke surrounded by leaping flames rose high in the air over the hilly heath."

This was the description of a "trial" atomic bomb exploded over Lippstadt and the military experts agreed that if this had been a real bomb, Lippstadt would have been completely destroyed, about 40,000 people would have been killed and the entire area would have become radio-active.

The final report upon American atom manoeuvres in Baden-Wuerttemberg which ended on October 26th 1954 stated that the whole of this province with its population of 300,000 would have been "atomically destroyed". The manoeuvres in which 65,000 members of the American army and airforce participated took place in the area Augsburg-Ansbach-Schwäbisch-Gmünd. American 10-inch atom cannon fired a total of six rounds.

By signing the Paris Agreements Chancellor Adenauer has given his agreement to the destruction of West Germany in a planned atomic war. He has thus made nonsense of his repeated claim that participation in the North Atlantic Pact would guarantee West Germany "the greatest possible defence and security".

Atom strategists such as Heusinger, Kesselring, Blank and Manteuffel are engaged in preparing for a new atomic war. They are going ahead with their plans although atomic death still stalks the streets of Hiroshima and although many West German newspaper in the closing days of 1954 presented their readers with a terrifying picture of the degree to which one single atomic bomb can destroy human life.

"Perhaps the worst factor is that nobody really knows yet what the effect of the radio-activity will be upon the coming generation... in the past year out of a total of 30,000 births more than 8,500 were not

normal, nearly 4,500 new born babies died immediately after birth, 500 were born dead and over 3,600 were monsters or idiots. Some had no eyes or no brain, others had deformed heads."

("Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", December 24th 1954)

In view of these facts the attempt to make West Germany a victim of the American atom strategy is an unparalleled crime. The agreement given by Adenauer to these plans is the more monstrous since the Soviet Union has consistently called, both inside and outside the United Nations, for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, and since in the United Nations a commission has been established to deal with the question of banning and controlling atomic weapons.

Mercenaries at the Service of the USA

The integration of West Germany in NATO and the Western European Union precludes the planned West German troops from serving the national German interests, since they will be placed under the command of American NATO General Gruenther. The new West German Wehrmacht will be quite frankly a mercenary body serving the war aims of both the German and American imperialists.

In accordance with the structure of NATO the officers and soldiers will be unconditionally under the command of US General Gruenther, Supreme Commander of NATO in West Europe. This control does not just come into effect in case of war but takes effect immediately after the Paris Agreements have been ratified. The London "Daily Mail" stated on October 25th 1954:

"General Gruenther, thanks to his increased powers, will be in a position to post German divisions wherever he likes."

Under the NATO regulations West Germans troops can be used anywhere where the United States think it suitable, including the colonies of the NATO member states. When there is unrest anywhere in North Africa and the people there rise against the colonialists, the NATO General Staff can decide to use West German troops. German soldiers would be used, as so often in the past, to protect the interests of the monopolists. Young Germans would fall in foreign countries just as 45,000 young Germans have fallen in the French Foreign Legion.

In accordance with the aggressive character of NATO the West German forces would not be concerned in any way with defensive operations. On July 3rd 1954 the American "Saturday Evening Post" stated quite frankly the role foreseen for the West German mercenaries in the NATO plans.

"It is not necessary to consult top-secret SHAPE General Staff maps in order to know that the German divisions in Germany will be stationed as far to the east as is militarily possible, since the whole aim of reinforcing western defence with German troops is to put into effect a strategy of 'forward defence'."

This shows quite openly that the West German mercenaries will be used as a "suicide corps" to head the aggression against the East. The West German troops, forming the spearhead, would bear the brunt of the battle and the counterblows of the countries attacked. With the breakdown of the aggression they would have to cover the retreat and be wiped out to the last man.

In the debate in the West German Parliament on the first reading of the Paris Agreements on December 16th 1954 the Social Democratic Deputy, Professor Fritz Baade asked the West German Government

"Do you know that the Supreme Commander who will command these Germans, General Gruenther, has stated quite plainly why he wants these German soldiers? Do you know that he stated that he wanted the German soldiers as a shield for the British, American and French soldiers stationed in Europe and in Germany?... According to this strategy there is no intention of defending the German homeland but in reality it is intended to have German soldiers in order to cover the successful withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed on German soil."

The West German mercenary formations are therefore designed to bear the heaviest sacrifices whether in the offensive or defensive. Those who sign the Paris Agreements and the American NATO strategists want the soldiers of the West German army themselves to convert West Germany into a zone of scorched earth. That is the final consequence of West Germany's integration in NATO.

IV.

Cannon King Krupp goes back to Work

The Potsdam Agreement, signed by the USSR, USA and Great Britain and recognised by France, stated in paragraph 11 and 12 its "Economic Principles":

- "11. In order to eliminate Germany's war potential, the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war as well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships shall be prohibited and prevented. Production of metals, chemicals, machinery and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved post-war peace time needs . . .
12. At the earliest practicable date, the Germany economy shall be decentralised for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements."

In sharp contrast to the principles of the Potsdam Agreement and in open breach of this agreement the Paris Agreements have legalised once again the economic power of the monopolies, which in fact was never destroyed, and have given these monopolies every chance to restore their arms potential and even to expand this potential.

Krupp, Klöckner, Frick, the shareholders of IG Farben, the managers of the three great German banks and all the other war criminals and war profiteers of the first and second world wars thus see the chance of making huge profits for the third time on the basis of the Paris Agreements. At the same moment as Chancellor Adenauer was signing the Paris Agreements the arms kings sent their agents to Paris to make arrangements for the arms business which they anticipate. On October 13th 1954 Fritz Berg, President of the Federal Association of German Industry, Dr. Beutler, the Director of the same organisation, Ministerial Director Dr. Rust, and ex-Admiral Meendsen-Bohlken, Director of the "Arms Committee" of the Federal Association of German Industry, went to Paris for negotiations on West German arms production after the ratification of the Paris Agreements.

On November 24th 1954 the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" reported that the "Arms Committee" of the Federal Association of German Industry had held its first session. The firms of Krupp, Klöckner and Flick together with other war criminal firms are represented on this committee by President

Fritz Berg, Director G. Schröder of Klöckner's, Dr. Könecke of Daimler-Benz, Fritz Menne from IG-Farben (Farbwerke Höchst), O. A. Friedrich of the Phoenix Rubber Works, Hamburg (a former war economy director and raw materials commissar under Hitler), Gustav Möllenbergs of the Rhein-Ruhr Bank (Dresdner Bank), Carl Neumann of the Industrie-Kredit Bank, and Max Thönißen of the Association of Automobile Industries. This Arms Committee which is already making estimates of the business to be expected is, according to the Süddeutsche Zeitung of November 24th 1954, "the central organ of industry for tasks connected with arms economy, and the sole partner in this respect of the Federal Ministry of Economics and the Blank Office".

Big Business for the War Profiteers

The huge profits made in the Second World War by Ruhr heavy industry came to light as a result of the currency reform in 1948. The West German magazine "Bergbau und Wirtschaft" (Mining and Economy) reported on November 1st 1954 on the way in which these businesses had come through the currency reform. The ordinary savings of members of the West German population were cut to one-tenth by the separate West German currency reform in 1948, but for the Ruhr industrialists this currency reform, like the inflation of 1923, represented a fine stroke of business and led to an enormous increase in their power. This is shown by the statistics given in "Bergbau und Wirtschaft". (Rm means Reichsmark, the pre-currency-reform unit of currency and DM means Deutsche Mark, the present West German currency):

Company	Capital in Million RM	Capital in Million DM	Conversion Quota
Klöckner Werke AG	105.00	323.75	1 : 3.083
Mannesmann Röhren AG	160.00	320.00	1 : 2.0
Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG	460.00	1338.20	1 : 3.017
Gutehoffnungshütte	104.00	317.20	1 : 3.05
Hoesch AG	135.00	387.00	1 : 2.866
Harpener Bergbau AG	70.00	154.00	1 : 3.7
Essener Steinkohlenbergwerke	72.00	108.00	1 : 3.7

In anticipation of the new arms business resulting from the Paris Agreements the prices of shares in these arms firms have risen very rapidly. The "Volkswirt" of Frankfurt/Main dated December 11th 1954 calculated that from June 1953 to December 1954 the share index had risen as follows:

in the coal and steel industry	from 68 to 152.8
in non-ferrous metals	from 102 to 195.3
in engineering	from 99.3 to 178.1
in the vehicle industry	from 90.3 to 173.0
in the electrotechnical industry	from 98.1 to 201.1
in the chemical industry	from 93.2 to 219.4
in the building materials and building industry	from 113.1 to 190.9

"Atomic cannon and atomic planes are present in no country in such density as in Germany. Germany would be a battlefield from the first moment of a new war. With a few h-bombs the entire German territory can be made uninhabitable, and the ma-

jority of Germans can be destroyed or sentenced to slow death" (Dr. Wilhelm Wolfgang Schuetz, official of the West German Ministry of All-German Affairs in his book "Germany's Hour", page 116, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart 1954).



American atomic cannon in West Germany. (Picture from "Der Stern", Hamburg, West Germany).

Fashions for X-day

West German protective clothing. The original caption to these pictures from "Der Stern", Hamburg, states that these protective overalls have been developed "secretly" by West German manufacturers for use in atomic and gas warfare.





"Great Carthage waged three wars. After the first it was still mighty; after the second it was still inhabitable. After the third, it was no longer to be found."

Bertolt Brecht

The Romans and Carthaginians fought with arrow and sword: the NATO generals will use A-bombs and H-bombs. Nothing would be left of Germany.

Top picture: The mushroom of the h-bomb explosion in the Marshall Islands.

Right: The first victim of the American h-bomb. The Japanese fisherman Kaikiki Kuboyama died in great pain after fighting against death for seven months. He was fishing 50 kilometres away from the Bikini Atoll when the h-bomb was exploded.



US Sergeant Gordon R. Wille from Ohio, at present serving in the US Occupation Forces in West Germany, stationed at Hanau, near Frankfurt/Main (picture from "Sueddeutsche Zeitung", December 18th 1954). Like all other US occupation troops, Sergeant Wille must now start dieting, since the "mobility" of the US forces has been reduced by soft living. Under the Paris Agreements the West German Government is obliged to look after parasites like this.





Paris Agreements Make West Germany War Base for Western Imperialists

No-one is safe

Top: American tanks, practising for X-day, roll across good farming land.

Centre: During autumn manoeuvres in 1953 American tanks destroyed a house at Jungenheim.

Bottom: In Gochsheim near Schweinfurt an American tank tore the front wall from a house, and the whole house had to be destroyed. 80,000 marks worth of damage was done.

The US Government pays no compensation for this damage.





Grosse Blink, a suburb of Bremen, was scheduled for evacuation in August 1954 to provide room for American war preparations. The shipyard workers of Bremen joined the population in resisting evacuation.



The inhabitants of Grosse Blink defended themselves with hay forks against the West German police acting on American orders.

In July 1953 700 peasants from the village of Noervenich marched in protest against the requisitioning of their land for a NATO airfield.

These pictures of manoeuvre damage give some idea of what awaits the West German population if the Paris Agreements are ratified, and West Germany becomes the deployment area for NATO troops.

Top: A barn, burned down in the course of NATO manoeuvres.

Centre: A peasant has posted a notice in English addressend to the occupation troops "Stay out from the cornfield".

Bottom: During manoeuvres in 1954 British occupation soldiers used a poisonous material "P. E. No. 2, Hexogen" which killed the cattle of West German peasants. Large tracts of meadow had to be ploughed in order to turn under remnants of this poisonous material. Herr Geerken, a peasant from Doetlingen, who lost some of his cattle, applied for compensation. The British authorities replied "Application rejected".





"Make clear the streets for us, the brown battallions" sang Hitler's Storm Troops in 1933. Opponents were battered down and murdered, trade union clubs were raided . . .

In 1954 the same faces, the same helmets and the same rifles can be seen in the West German streets. Batons and rifle butts are used against civilians in the name of democracy. The militarists long for the day when they have a Wehrmacht 500,000 strong.



Top: Munich police in action against a trade union demonstration.

Centre: Mounted police against demonstrators in Munich, March 1954.

Bottom left: Bavarian police attack striking metal workers in August 1954.

Bottom right: After Munich police had attacked strikers at the Siemens Works dozens of workers had to be taken to hospital, and many were arrested.



The value of the share of the biggest arms firms rose even higher than this average index shows.

Here are some individual examples:

	January 1954	January 1955
Mannesmann	90	180
Rheinstahl	154	295
Consolidation	89	175
Demag	144	263
Salzdetfurth	129	231½
AEG	120	194½
Siemens AG	137	264
Farben-Beyer	127	255
Badische Anilin	125	254
Casella	145	440
Farbwerke Höchst	124	260
Daimler	130	243
Metallgesellschaft	135	335
Dynamit Nobel (Du Pont)	122	245
Beteiligungsgesellsch. Ruhrort (Gutehoffng.)	107	392

(Statistics from "Handelsblatt" December 31st 1954, "Parlamentarische Rundschau", 5th December issue 1954, and "Tagesspiegel" Westberlin, January 6th 1955.)

Describing this share boom the "Frankfurter Rundschau" stated on January 3rd 1955:

"The coincidence between the boom and the conclusion of the Paris Treaties, and the obvious connection between the rise in share values at the end of the year and France's agreement to the rearmament of West Germany, make it possible to recognise clearly the real background of this unusual development. The buyers expect that arms contracts... will lead to an increase in profits and thus to higher dividends. The stock exchange thus counts in advance on an arms boom and regards this development as guaranteed."

A handful of arms kings who made thousands of millions of profits out of the first and second world war thus regard "this development as guaranteed." When the time has come to prepare a new war then the old names, stained with the blood of millions of men, women and children appear once again, the names of Krupp, Haniel, Reusch, Klöckner, Hoesch, Mannesmann, Abs, Flick, Thyssen, Menne, Friedrich, Siemens, Schroeder, Pferdmenges etc. They are the names of those who sit and earn in positions of security during world wars while the ordinary people work, starve, freeze and die. They are the men who do not know the conditions under which millions of men and women must slave in their factories, since they scarcely know these factories. All that they know are the Paris Agree-

ments and the stock market quotations promising new profits. Their aims and their policy are war in order to earn more. They have already plunged Germany in the past into two catastrophic defeats. Since they have always made money, they wish to plunge the German people into a new war, this time an atomic world war. Their very existence is bound up with war.

The Paris Agreements bring to an end the swindle of alleged "decentralisation". As a result of these agreements the infamous German banks such as the Dresdner Bank, the Deutsche Bank and the Commerz Bank can again come together legally in their old form. The directors and members of the boards of directors of these three banks to-day again occupy 829 seats on the boards of directors of key industrial companies.

In Schedule IV, chapter 1, article 9 (1) of the "Amendments to the Convention on the Settlement Of Matters Arising Out Of The War and The Occupation" which forms part of the Paris Agreements it is stated that "deconcentration measures ordered before that date are still to be carried out". This is only a lie designed to mislead the people and is contradicted further on in the same schedule. Paragraph 3 of the very same article permits the "expansion or affiliation" of enterprises of the German coal mining and iron and steel industries in the framework of the American inspired "European Community for Coal and Steel". Article 10 of the same schedule permits all further "deconcentration" to be postponed on the application of the big trusts.

The way in which German big business regards these regulations has been shown in practice. In the past few months the Klöckner Concern and the Mannesmann Concern have reorganised themselves in their old form and the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the Thyssen Concern and the Gutehoffnungshütte Concern have made all preparations to resume the form of organisation which they had during the Hitlerite period. "Manchester Guardian Weekly" reported on August 28th 1954:

"Yet there is every sign that the three successor companies of IG Farben are already arranging to divide up markets and to concert common policies."

The arms kings are acting with open insolence in order to get a free hand in arms business. The Siemens Concern has started a court case against the British Occupation Authorities claiming 60 million marks compensation because a factory for plane accessories in Spandau, West Berlin, was dismantled after the war. This plant supplied armaments material for the Hitlerite war machine.

The Farce of "Arms Limitation" and "Arms Control"

In order to mislead the people the question of arms industry was only approached negatively in the Paris Agreements. These agreements only specified those articles which should not be made, or which should be manufactured under control.

This "arms control" is formally applicable to all states joining Western European Union but it is obvious that it is aimed mainly to appease public opinion, particularly in France, about the danger of rearming West Germany. It will be shown later in this chapter that any form of arms control under the conditions ruling in the Western European Union can only help to strengthen the hegemony of American imperialism.

Here it is necessary to investigate the question as it affects West Germany. For this purpose it is worth quoting in full Annex I to Protocol No. III on the Control of Armaments in the Paris Agreements. This Annex states:

"The Federal Chancellor declares:

that the Federal Republic undertakes not to manufacture in its territory any atomic weapons, chemical weapons or biological weapons as detailed in paragraphs I, II and III of the attached list;

that it undertakes further not to manufacture in its territory such weapons as those detailed in paragraphs IV, V and VI of the attached list. Any amendment to or cancellation of the substance of paragraphs IV, V and VI can, on the request of the Federal Republic, be carried out by a resolution of the Brussels Council of Ministers by a two thirds majority, if in accordance with the needs of the armed forces a request is made by the competent Supreme Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation;

that the Federal Republic agrees to supervision by the Competent Authority of the Brussels Treaty Organisation to ensure that these undertakings are observed."

First of all it is necessary to note that the placing under control in the other states of the Union of the weapons named in paragraphs I and IV, those weapons prohibited for West Germany, means that the American war block manufactures chemical and bacteriological weapons, something which has hitherto always been denied. This is clear, since something which is not manufactured cannot be controlled. Paragraph IV includes in the types of weapons under control under Sub-Section (b) Biological Weapons and under Sub-Section (c) Chemical Weapons.

The undertakings made by Adenauer in Paris are simply for camouflage purposes. In practice the following facts are known:

a) Atomic Weapons

All preparations are being made in West Germany for the manufacture of atomic bombs. Sixteen large West German undertakings have formed, with American assistance, a "Study Group for Physical Research". The leading influence in this "Study Group" is that of the IG-Farben Concern which, in the Second World War, manufactured poison gas for the murder of millions of innocent people in concentration camps.

This "Study Group for Physical Research", which includes representatives of such arms firms as Krupp, Flick, Siemens, Gutehoffnungshütte, DEGUSSA, AEG, Bayer-Leverkusen and Farbwerke Höchst has already started preparatory work on West German atomic research, according to the „Süddeutsche Zeitung" of December 28th 1954. The first atomic pile, which will cost at least 20 million marks, will be constructed either in Munich or in Karlsruhe. It was originally intended that this atomic pile should have a power of 1550 kilowatts, but this has been increased to a minimum of 10,000 kilowatts.

In the Fichtelgebirge area uranium mining is being organised by war criminal Flick who, in the Second World War, employed more than 40,000 prisoners of war and foreign forced labourers as slaves in his arms factories.

It is clear that the war criminals of yesterday aim to-day to be the producers of atomic bombs in West Germany. They have no objection to the conversion of West Germany into a radio-active desert since they hope to win huge profits from the third world war just as they did from the massacres of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945.

The "German Research Association" agreed, at a meeting in May 1954 in Mainz, to allot 750,000 marks for research in atom physics. The Federal Government has allotted about one million marks for atomic research during the current financial year. At the moment it is intended to utilise nine tons of pure uranium in West Germany annually. This quantity provides the energy equivalent to one-fifth of West Germany's coal production.

In addition the US Military Authorities have not only stationed atomic weapons in West Germany, but they also visualise the use of these weapons by the West German troops. The American Supreme Commander in Europe stated on May 4th 1954, according to an Associated Press message, that he "regarded it as proper that future German troops should be trained in atomic warfare. It would be important for the Germans that they should have the same training in the use of atomic weapons as the other members of the European Defence Community".

b) Biological Weapons

In February 1952 a question placed in the British Parliament by the Labour Party MPs Thomas and Hughes elicited the information that in West Germany research into biological warfare was being conducted on the instructions of the Western Powers. Fascist experts in this branch, who won their experience in experiments on inmates of the concentration camps of Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Flossenbürg, Ravensbrück, Lackenbach, Maidanek, Lublin, Auschwitz and Mauthausen have, most of them, been given work again in research laboratories, some of which are camouflaged as "Injection Centres", bacteriological-hygienic institutes and so on.

These research centres include the Bernhard-Nocht Institute in Hamburg, the Hygiene Institute of the Bayer Werke in Leverkusen, the State

Medical Research Office in Lüneburg and many others. The "experts" working in these laboratories include Professor Heinrich Lippelt, former hygiene expert attached to Rommel's Africa Corps; Professor Herbert Kunert who was from 1943 Director of the State Hygiene Institute in "Litzmannstadt" that is to say the occupied Polish city of Lodz and who is now head of the "Injection Institute" in West Berlin and many others. These tried experts are to-day engaged in experiments on the bacillus of pest, spotted fever, typhus, diphtheria and cholera. The "binning" of the manufacture of biological weapons is simply an act of camouflage in view of the fact that widespread research is being carried out in these fields on the orders of the Western Powers.

c) Chemical Weapons

Officially Chancellor Adenauer agrees to the prohibition of chemical weapons "in general", but in Annex II to Protocol No III on the control of Armaments it is stated that:

"All apparatus, parts, equipment, installations, substances and organisms which are used for civilian purposes or for scientific, medical and industrial research in the fields of pure and applied science shall be excluded from this definition."

This is the way in which Chancellor Adenauer camouflages the danger which threatens not only the German people but the whole of Europe.

The same industrial magnates who produced chemical weapons as "leaders of arms economy" in the Hitlerite era are in control to-day of West German chemical production, and in particular, the production of the successor companies of the IG-Farben Concern. They include such men as Abs, Menne, O. A. Friedrich, Schirner, Kühne, Wurster, Gajewski and Gattineau. These are the same war profiteers from the time of the Second World War who made huge profits from the supply of poison gas used for liquidating millions of people in the concentration camps. They are the people who will know how to use the "exceptions" to the rule detailed above.

These people know very well that American monopolists have always opposed the prohibition of chemical weapons. The magnates of Wall Street who have got their finger in every form of war production have made huge profits from the production of chemical weapons. In order not to lose this profitable business, the Government of the USA has always refused to sign the Geneva Convention and the 1929 amendments to the Geneva Convention, which have been signed by nearly all other states and which ban the use of poison gas and chemical and bacteriological weapons in case of war. For this reason the American proponents of a "new world order" are not interested in a ban on the production of chemical and bacteriological weapons in West Germany.

As a result the laboratories of the West German firms will now prepare new chemical weapons on a "purely scientific basis". This is relatively easy since it is not difficult for chemists to exploit various basic chemicals for the production of chemical weapons. The way in which manufacturing capacity in this field has grown is shown by the following statistics:

Chemical Production in West Germany

	Sulphuric Acid	Sodium Carbonate	Chlorine	Caustic Soda	Calcium Carbide
Average monthly production in tons					
1936	88,166	35,417	8,214	11,483	43,333
1950	98,338	61,240	18,229	27,961	52,845
1951	115,837	69,648	21,345	32,549	54,468
1952	118,395	54,608	23,209	31,500	61,557
1953	127,880	66,183	26,660	36,857	60,387
1954 first six months	136,905	77,032	29,146	40,883	62,501
1954 November	144,698	81,772	30,811	43,432	64,985

("Wirtschaft und Statistik", Stuttgart, No. 12, December 1954).

Chemical production is to-day in West Germany between 50 and 250 per cent higher than it was before the war. The huge works in Leverkusen, Ludwigshafen and Höchst are growing rapidly. In one year, from January to December 1953, the capital investment of these three works was shown by the balance sheet to have increased by more than 221 million marks. Such factories as "Anorgana" in Gendorf, which produced mainly chemical weapons during the Second World War, are in full production again. Thus any "prohibition" in this field is nothing more than a fiction.

These facts show that the ban on the production of atomic, biological and chemical weapons officially proclaimed in the Paris Agreements is quite fictitious and West Germany has in fact an advantage over all other countries of the Western European Union in this field.

Hitler's Plane Builders Back at Work

Annexe III to Protocol No. III on the Control of Armaments lists other types of weapons which are supposed to be banned in West Germany. They include long range missiles, guided missiles, influence mines, warships of more than 3,000 tons displacement, submarines of more than 350 tons displacement, and finally bomber aircraft for strategic purposes.

The facts are, however, different. "Scientific" preparation for the manufacture of guided missiles of the type of V 1 and V 2 have been resumed in West Germany on a large scale. There is a "Society for Rocket Research" which centralises all research work in this field. An Institute for Rocket Technology and Propulsion (Institute for the Physics of Propulsion) is attached to the Stuttgart Technical High School.

The West German Government and the Provincial Government of Baden Württemberg have provided funds for this Institute. The director of this Institute is Dr. Eugen Sänger, one of the leading fascist specialists in this field. Hitherto he worked for the French Army. Further research workers and constructors include H. W. Kölle, Karl Schütte and Dr. Gerlach. Dr. Walter Dornburg, who invented the V 2 rocket and who is now working for the US-Army, visited West Germany in August. Propaganda is made for rocket research by the "German Society for Space Research" which receives support from West German militarist and industrial circles.

The groundwork has been laid in West Germany for the construction of warships. It should be noted that ship production in West Germany is already considerably larger than it was in 1936. Average production between January and September 1954 was 20 per cent more than the pre-war figure. In the middle of 1954 West Germany had the third largest share, only less than the USA and Great Britain, of all capitalist countries, and turned out 11.6 per cent of the total tonnage. Total deliveries in the first six months of 1954 amounted to 16.1 per cent of all launchings in the capitalist world. The ten largest shipyards in the capitalist world launched shipping totalling 1.72 million tons during this period and the three largest West German shipyards provided nearly 30 per cent of this total. The world's biggest tanker was built in sections in West Germany and then assembled in a floating dock, and this construction method would make it possible to build the biggest warships in the shortest space of time. West German shipbuilding capacity is already so large that this would present no difficulties.

The lie about the alleged ban on the production of heavy bombing planes is exposed by the active preparations for air warfare being made by Adenauer's strategists. The American magazine "American Aviation" stated on January 3rd 1955:

"The Luftwaffe (in West Germany) has formally not been reconstituted yet. But the framework of an air force staff is already in existence. Those who are preparing the plans for the Luftwaffe are in close contact with the companies which ten years ago represented one of the most powerful aviation industries in the world.

West Germany disposes today over 26 aircraft factories ready to go into production, with 26,000 workers."

In 1952 the President of the "Federal Association for the Encouragement of Flying", Dr. Jästrow, declared that "the entire potential of the former German plane industry exists to-day in the Federal Republic". The "German Flight Research Society" in Brunswick has resumed its activities and runs six institutes for aerodynamics, plane construction, plane mechanics, piloting, internal combustion engines and jet engines. The "Scientific Society for Aviation" has also been revived.

Plane builder Heinrich Focke, who worked after the end of the war in Brazil, has returned to West Germany, together with other constructors

such as Walter Georgii, Professor Tank and others. Focke has taken up a teaching post for plane construction at the Stuttgart Technical High School. The "Helicopter Association" is also affiliated to this Technical High School. Stuttgart is also the headquarters of the "Graf Zeppelin Research Centre" which has as its aim the preparation of industry for future tasks in the aviation field. The members of the board of directors of this Centre include Dr. F. Könecke, Chairman of the board of directors of Daimler-Benz AG; Dr. Burkhardt of the Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik; Professor Madelung of the Stuttgart Technical High School; Fritz Walter as representative of the "Helicopter Association"; and Ministerial Councillor Seifritz representing the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Economics.

The West Berlin newspaper "Tagesspiegel" stated on October 7th 1954 that it would be relatively easy to resume the production of planes in West Germany since "80 per cent of the necessary capacity is available despite all destruction and dismantling, particularly in motor construction, light metal production and equipment. The assembly plants for plane construction are also available and the well known German firms of Dornier, Friedrichshafen; Focke-Wulf, Bremen; Ernst Heinkel, Stuttgart; and Messerschmitt, Augsburg have the necessary facilities to begin work again."

At the end of September 1954 the great plane works attached to the Blohm and Voss Shipbuilding Yards in Hamburg were returned to their former owners by the British Occupation Authorities. The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" stated on October 1st 1954:

"The works directors declare that the buildings and their equipment with machine tools and cranes are only suitable for plane production."

The construction of airfields is going ahead in West Germany at top speed, for instance in Nuremberg, which has been equipped with what is stated to be the most modern flying field in Germany. The important installation of the "German Aviation Research Centre" is stationed on the airfield Essen-Mülheim. A large school for flight technology has been built with capital provided from the "Federal Youth Plan" on the airfield Darmstadt-Egelsbach.

Finally the German "Lufthansa" which already formed the core for the German Luftwaffe after the first world war is being rapidly reconstructed with the direct participation of members of Chancellor Adenauer's family — his son Max and his nephew Kurt.

It is clear that such activity stands in obvious contradiction to every limitation on special types of military planes.

Thus the alleged "bans" for West Germany have been cancelled out by the permission to pursue "scientific research" in various fields. The facts given above show that the claims made that the Paris Agreements "control" and "limit" West German rearment are simply a lie.

No limits are placed on the production of other weapons in West Germany. All preparations have been made in West Germany for the production of rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, mine throwers, all types

of artillery, tanks, vehicles, aerial bombs, planes and many other types of weapons and equipment. The most important part of this big rearmament programme should be subjected to a formal control of the Armaments Control Agency of the Western European Union under Protocol No IV of the Paris Agreements. It is therefore interesting to consider how effective such a control of German militarists is.

British Brigadier General J. H. Morgan, the British Military Expert of the Inter-Allied Council of the Control Commission for the Disarmament of Germany from 1919 to 1923 has described his experiences in this period in his book "Assize of Arms". On November 4th 1923 Brigadier General Morgan wrote a letter to the London "Times" in which he stated that Germany "had done everything in its power to hinder, to mislead and to work against the commission which had the duty of disarming Germany." British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden used almost exactly the same words in a speech in the British House of Commons on September 29th 1944. In his book General Morgan stated:

"In the years that followed, almost every document put up to us by the Reichswehrministerium was found, after we had checked its statements by 'control' inspections, to be false..."

"Whenever a country has reached a high degree of engineering, mechanical and technical development, however, 'disarmed' she may appear to be, the race will be to the industrially swift and the battle to the industrially strong. If that country cherishes a tradition that war is its normal 'instrument of policy', it has only to organise, in silhouette as it were, its industries in peace with a view to their conversion to war and it is already in an advanced stage of 'economic mobilisation'... It would, of course, have been possible to spare the world the horrors of the present catastrophe if Germany had been deprived of her Army altogether, for then we could have made an end of the tradition which von Seedt so ingeniously kept alive."

("Assize of Arms", New York 1946)

Morgan's statements apply completely to the present situation in West Germany as far as the organisation of industry is concerned and with regard to the military and aggressive traditions which are described fully in other chapters. It was impossible to control the disarmament of defeated Germany in 1919—1923 and a control of West German rearmament under the conditions of the growing strength of German imperialism would be a complete farce.

It is thus clear that the bans imposed on certain types of weapons and the "control of rearmament" will not impose any limitation upon the German warmongers. The militarists of West Germany are a very serious danger for the peoples of Europe since they have, in the form of West German industry, an instrument of rearmament in which they are superior to all other West European countries. Nobody can doubt that the German militarists would use this instrument at a date not far distant in order to

erect their hegemony once again in West Europe in the same way as they did during the Second World War.

Arms Production Preparations are Completed

The Paris Agreements signed in October 1954 have opened a period of public and uncamouflaged arms production in West Germany. The Potsdam Agreement, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, stated that the German economy should be converted to peace production for the good of the German people, but the Paris Agreements have begun to turn the economy into a war economy damaging for the German people. The German militarists working in the war criminal arms trust have been making preparations for many years for this change-over which represents a deadly danger for the German people and the other peoples of Europe.

Since the separatist currency reform in 1948 the German militarists have made every effort to maintain and extend the basis of the arms industry in West Germany, and this basis was almost untouched in the first three years after the war.

The gross capital investment in West German industry, which was devoted almost entirely to the industries important for war (mining and foundry industries, chemical industries, engineering, electro-technical industry and oil industry) has been increased above all normal limits. These capital investments form a higher proportion of the national income than ever before in German history, a proportion higher than in any other capitalist country. Even when adjustment has been made for price increases such investments are to-day 80 per cent higher than in 1938, at the time when the fascists were pressing ahead with their arms programme. Here is a short statistical summary:

Gross Capital Investment

	in marks	adjusted to 1936 values
1936	6,900,000,000	6,900,000,000
1950	18,008,000,000	9,992,000,000
1951	22,545,000,000	10,739,000,000
1952	24,680,000,000	10,942,000,000
1953	27,760,000,000	12,577,000,000

("Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", 1954, page 520 et seq.)

These enormous investment sums do not include investments made by the occupation powers for rearmament purposes. Such investments amounted to the following sums in million marks:

1950	1951	1952	1953
467	1180	2126	1640

("Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", 1954, page 520 et seq.)

The proportion of the national income used for capital investment has reached an enormously high figure. Even if the official West German statistics of "gross national income" are used (the West German statistics for national income are based on an unscientific mode of calculation which exaggerates such income), the following picture is obtained:

Proportion of the gross national income devoted to capital investment

1936	14.1	per cent
1950	20.1	"
1951	19.8	"
1952	19.6	"
1953	21.6	"

("Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik", 1954, page 520 et seq.)

The proportion of the national income devoted to investments is considerably higher than in all other capitalist countries. In 1952 for instance the proportion was only 17.1 per cent in France, which had been looted and destroyed by German militarism in the second world war; in Great Britain the proportion was 13.2 per cent and in the United States only 14 per cent.

The result of this development is a considerable increase in the capacity and the output of the industries important for war purposes in West Germany. In the third quarter of 1954 the output of these industries presented the following picture:

Output in individual industries in November 1954

(1936 = 100)

Oil production	644
Light Metal production	272
Chemical industry	228
Oil refining	344
Engineering	231
Vehicle industry	296
Electrical industry	463

(from "Wirtschaft und Statistik" No. 12, December 1954)

In September 1954 West Germany was producing about six times as much mineral oil, about two and half times as much cement, about five times as much petrol, about twenty times as much Diesel oil, about three and a half times as many passenger cars as in 1936. The increase in the production of important chemicals has been noted earlier in this chapter. On the other hand shoe production has never in the post war period reached the 1936 level although the population to-day is about 20 per cent larger than it was then. The output of textiles has not risen perceptibly despite the increase in the population and the great replacement needs caused by the war. West German peace industry is systematically kept under control in contrast to the industries important for war which, in addition, are largely owned by American monopolists.

The reason for this development is quite clear. The buying power of the population is maintained at a low level so that the huge investments can be financed and the arms industry can be expanded. It is not possible to separate war industry and peace industry satisfactorily from each other, since they overlap in many fields, but an approximate division can be made. In the manufacturing industry in West Germany the groups "Raw Materials and Production Goods" and "Investment Goods" are the main branches serving rearmament. The groups "Consumer Goods" and "Foodstuffs etc." work mainly for civilian needs. When the production indexes are combined according to the official weighting the following picture is obtained:

Index of Industrial Production

(1936 = 100)

	Raw materials, production goods investment goods	Consumer goods, food- stuffs etc.
1950	110.1	112.7
1951	137.9	125.9
1952	149.1	131.7
1953	158.1	152.2
1954 (first six months)	179.1	152.7

(from "Wirtschaft und Statistik", No. 10, October 1954)

Thus the production of industries important for war has increased by 62.2 per cent since 1950, while the production of branches of industry working for the population has increased by only 35.5 per cent.

All these facts underline the careful preparations made for rearmament by the German militarists. West German economy is to-day a war economy, even more than at the period of fascist rearmament. This economy is capable of converting at any time to large scale arms production, which will bring advantages only to the arms kings and which will be detrimental to the German people and all the other peoples of Europe.

V.

The Road to Military Dictatorship in West Germany

If West Germany is re-militarised and converted into a war deployment area in accordance with the NATO plans, the influence of the militarists will inevitably grow to such a degree that nothing will remain of the democratic liberties of the West German population, liberties which already to-day are sharply limited. West Germany would become a militarist state subjected to the military dictatorship of Hitlerite generals and politicians of revenge.

All phases of German history in which the militarists had power in their hands have shown that when the militarists have the power the people are deprived of their rights. Militarism is the expression of an unlimited arbitrary domination over the people. Brutish obedience ordered from above, and the "Führer principle" replace democratic rights and liberties. This fact has been printed in blood in German history since Bismarck's anti-socialist legislation in 1881; since the persecution and murder by Prussian militarists of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; and since the ruthless suppression of all workers' organisations and the murder of Communist leader Ernst Thälmann and Social Democratic leader Rudolf Breitscheid by bloodthirsty Hitlerite fascism.

According to the Potsdam Agreement the entire German people have a legal claim to democratic rights and liberties but the Paris Agreements include no single paragraph guaranteeing such rights and liberties to the people of West Germany.

Instead of this the Bonn Treaty, as amended by the Paris Agreements, contains the notorious Article 5 with its wide powers for the proclamation of a state of emergency.

"State of Emergency" — a Stab in the Back of Democracy

Under this article the occupation powers are granted unlimited rights to proclaim a state of emergency and take armed action against the population, and the West German authorities are ordered to make a constitutional change which would extend this right to dictatorial powers to the German militarists too.

The "Convention On Relations Between The Three Powers And The Federal Republic Of Germany" as amended by the Paris Agreements of October 1954 states in Article 5, Paragraph 2:

"The rights of the Three Powers, heretofore held or exercised by them which relate to the protection of the security of armed forces stationed in the Federal Republic and which are temporarily retained, shall lapse when the appropriate German Authorities have obtained similar powers under German legislation enabling them to take effective action to protect the security of these forces, including the ability to deal with a serious disturbance of public security and order."

This means that the West German Government and the West German Parliament are given every opportunity to make preparations for the creation of a military dictatorship supported by the bayonets of the army, on the excuse of leading with "a serious disturbance of public security and order". Article 5, Paragraph 2 of the original Bonn Treaty said quite clearly what this means:

"In case the Federal Republic and the European Defence Community are unable to deal with the situation which is created by... subversion of the liberal democratic basis order, a serious disturbance of public order, or a grave threat of any of these events, and which in the opinion of the Three Powers endangers the security of their forces, the Three Powers may, after consultation to the fullest extent possible with the Federal Government, proclaim a state of emergency in the whole or any part of the Federal Republic."

Paragraph 7 which has been included in the Paris Agreements in one of the letters from Chancellor Adenauer states:

"Independently of a state of emergency, any military commander may, if his forces are imminently menaced, take such immediate action appropriate for their protection (including the use of armed force) as is requisite to remove the danger."

Such a "state of emergency" which can be decided upon quite arbitrarily and indeed if somebody feels that a "menace" exists, has now been extended to the planned German regime of militarists. This does not mean however that the occupation authorities have renounced their own right to declare a state of emergency. The second paragraph of Article 5 of the new Convention states that these rights "continue to be exerciseable".

West Germany will therefore be subjected to a double military dictatorship aimed at breaking every form of resistance, whether it be a movement against remilitarisation and in favour of German unity or against war and for peace. Every sort of protest rally, every demonstration, every strike can be banned by this "state of emergency" and double military security measures will be taken in order to "maintain order" under all circumstances.

This is the picture of the sort of „liberty and democracy“ provided by the Paris Agreements. If these Agreements go into effect this will mean the end of every real liberty and democracy in West Germany.

For years developments in West Germany have tended in this direction. Ever since Chancellor Adenauer began planning remilitarisation behind the backs of the German people in secret negotiations with the Anglo-American Occupation Powers he has been planning inner-political measures which will make it possible to drive through remilitarisation in West Germany. A policy of aggression and the limitation of democratic liberties go hand in hand.

The facts are clear: the inner political developments of West Germany under the Adenauer regime provides many parallels to the situation in Germany shortly before the Hitlerite fascists seized power and liquidated the democratic rights and liberties of the people.

Old Nazis in Office again .

The governmental apparatus of the Bonn state is largely staffed with neo-fascists and a very large number of unreconstructed fascists and Hitlerite officers occupy governmental positions in the West German administration, particularly in the Foreign Ministry and Ministry of the Interior. In the judicial apparatus 70 to 80 per cent of the leading officials are former judges and nazi prosecutors. Consistent anti-fascists brought before the courts in West Germany find that the judges and prosecutors are the same men who judged them in the Hitlerite period. There is nothing surprising in the number of fascists in the state administration when it is considered how many old nazis are Ministers in the West German government.

Gerhard Schröder, West German Minister of the Interior, joined the Nazi Party on May 1st 1933.

Waldemar Kraft, Minister without Portfolio, was a member of a fascist "Free Corps" in 1919 and was later Hauptsturmführer in the black-uniformed SS.

Theodor Oberländer, Minister for Refugees, was Hauptsturmführer in the brown-uniformed SA, Gauamtsleiter of the Nazi Party and after Hitler's attack on Poland he called for the "complete Germanisation" of the Eastern territories.

Victor Emanuel Preusker, Minister for Housing, joined the SS in 1933 and was promoted to the post of official for racial and training questions. After Hitler's occupation of Austria he "aryanised" Jewish property there and for this work received a special diploma "for the liberation of German economy from the Jewish yoke".

Fritz Schäffer, Finance Minister, offered his services in a letter to Himmler on April 16th 1933 and in May 1933 published an article in the

"Regensburger Anzeiger" praising Hitler and the Nazis. On April 24th 1946 the American Military Authorities barred him from public office as a "Nazi sympathiser and collaborator".

The political climate in West Germany is in accordance with the character of these cabinet members. These men, who defended Hitler's political dictatorship, talk loudly to-day about democracy and praise all actions aimed at restoring militarism as "expressions of real democracy and liberty". They aim at extending such "blessings" to the people of the German Democratic Republic.

Real Democrats are Suspect

As the militarists in the Bonn Administration feel more secure in their offices so they remove all anti-fascists and other honest democrats from their posts. As long ago as September 19th 1950, the West German government issued a decree forbidding public servants from supporting organisations which aimed at peace, unity and social progress. The middle class "Frankfurter Neue Presse" stated on October 26th 1950:

"The secret investigations have started once again. Files are combed to see whether there is any indication that postman Müller is a member of the Communist Party or whether tram conductor Schmidt is a member of the Association of Nazi Victims ... We are returning to the dictatorship of Hitler's Third Reich."

This "return" is for the militarists in reality only a continuation of their policy. It is contrary to the West German Constitution which states: "Nobody may be put at a disadvantage or privileged . . . because of his religious or political views." The unconstitutional nature of the decree was admitted in many quarters. A despatch from DPA, the semi-official West German News Agency on October 30th 1950 quoted Dr. Gebhardt Müller, at that time State Secretary of Südwürttemberg-Hohenzollern as stating:

"He had basic scruples about the decree issued by the Federal Cabinet . . . His government could not be responsible for abandoning the path of legality."

The West German government however has no scruples when it comes to the removal of democratic rights and liberties. This government knows that it must remove all obstacles from the path of the remilitarisation of West Germany, and for this reason it ignores the constitution and the law and persecutes honest democrats.

There is, for instance, the case of Dr. Julius Hahn, official of the Frankfurt City Administration. On March 14th 1933 he was removed from office by the Nazis. On June 18th 1945 he was restored as a permanent official by the provisional Mayor of the City. In August 1950 Dr. Hahn participated in a Conference "For Peace and Unity". Since peace and unity

1930



Stahlhelm Rally in 1930 in Coblenz. This was how it started.



1954

Stahlhelm Rally in West Berlin in 1954. They have forgotten nothing and learnt nothing.



Above: West German Minister Hans-Christoph Seehofer of the German Party, addressing on November 23rd 1954 his supporters in the Sportpalast, West Berlin, often the scene of Hitler's mass meetings.



The pictures above show how "stewards" of the German Party, uniformed like Hitler's Storm Troops, attacked democratic members of the audience at the meeting in the West Berlin Sportpalast on November 23rd 1954. The "stewards" shouted sentences like "They forgot to gas you Jewish swine in Auschwitz" as they pummeled foreign journalists and student hecklers.



Stahlhelm Rally in West Berlin, 1954.

The "Stahlhelm", led by old imperial generals, was one of the main reactionary forces which undermined and helped to overthrow the Weimar Republic. Today the "Stahlhelm" in West Germany, under the leadership of war criminal Kesselring, is preparing for a repeat performance. At its meetings members parade in Storm Troop uniforms, carrying the war flag of imperial Germany.



Stahlhelm Rally in Brunswick, January 24th 1954. Where does the money come from?



Above: On November 3rd 1954, Count Baudissin, a recruiting officer from the West German Blank Office, addressed a meeting of youth in Cologne. The meeting, intended as the starting signal for a recruiting campaign, was converted by the young members of the audience into a demonstration against remilitarisation.

Right: Opposition to conscription is shown in the caricature on the right from the book „Disziplin ist alles“, Verlag Baemeier & Nickel, Frankfurt/Main. The sergeant is saying to the new recruit: „Filth here too!“



DA IST JA NOCH DRECK!

Down with the New Wehrmacht!



Crippled ex-soldiers demonstrate against the Paris Agreements in Frankfurt/Main on December 12th 1954, with banners saying "Decent pensions instead of new soldiers".



"I want to go work, not carry a gun" says the poster carried by this youth in a demonstration against remilitarisation in Dusseldorf on November 27th 1954.

War Minister Howled Down

Left: Scene from a meeting addressed by West German War Minister Blank in Augsburg, December 1954 (Picture from "Quick", Munich, December 12th 1954).



At a meeting in Nuremberg crippled ex-soldiers attacked War Minister Blank with their crutches. "For 40 minutes the hall was in an uproar" reported "Quick", Munich.



"Armaments prevent peaceful reunification" states the banner displayed at the meeting held on December 5th 1954 in the crowded town hall of Solingen, West Germany. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Wolfgang Abendroth of the Social Democratic Party, head of the Institute for Political Science at the University of Marburg.



Above: "Grandfather wore the king's uniform: father wore the Fuehrer's tunic: I like civvies" states the big banner on this lorry in a demonstration against West German remilitarisation held in Munich on November 20th 1954 by trade union youth.

Below: Cyclists in the same demonstration with posters stating "Never again the barrack spuare".

are contrary to remilitarisation, Dr. Hahn could not be permitted to remain in his official post, and on September 23rd 1950, four days after the governmental decree, Dr. Hahn was removed from office again as he had been in 1933.

All over West Germany there have been similar cases of the removal from office of "suspect" anti-fascists, in a completely undemocratic fashion. In many places public officials came together to protest against these measures which recalled the Hitlerite period. The delegates of the administrative offices and public services in the City of Stuttgart addressed a letter to Robert Lehr, at that time Minister of the Interior of West Germany stating:

"In wide circles of our staff the measures announced have created a general sense of insecurity. We should like to express our fear that these measures will be extended to other organisations displeasing to the Federal Government, since we have not forgotten the step-by-step destruction of all democratic organisations by National Socialism after January 30th 1933."

The original Government Decree of September 19th 1950 was confirmed on December 20th 1951 by a "Law on the Political Allegiance of Members of the Public Service", which directed itself against all forms of democratic activity.

The Emergency Law against Democracy

On June 9th and 11th 1951 the West German Parliament passed an "Amendment to the Criminal Law". This law was pushed through Parliament with such haste that it has become known as the "lightning law". The reason for speeding this law through parliament is revealed by its contents which are strongly reminiscent of the nazi "High Treason Law" of June 7th 1933. This law consisted of amendments of the paragraphs of the Criminal Code of 1871 dealing with high treason, danger to the state and treason.

The old Criminal Code laid down a maximum sentence of three years hard labour for high treason, but the lighting law raised the maximum punishment to ten years hard labour. The nazi law had made the same amendment.

The old Criminal Code was amended to include a new category of offense described as "endangering the state". This offense is committed when principles of the Constitution are broken. Dr. Rothberg, speaking in the name of the West German Ministry of Justice, explained what this meant:

"It is not intended to protect all constitutional rights... since the limitation of some of them can be more important than the positive content of the constitutional rights."

This means in effect that proceedings may be taken against those who take measures against the limitation of constitutional rights. Since Dr. Rothberg had made such a classic statement of the way in which the constitutional rights of West German citizens could be limited, he was immediately named to the post of Federal Constitutional Judge.

This lightning law also introduced again "special courts" similar to those instituted by State Prosecutor Freisler during the bloody regime of Hitlerite fascism. The Sixth Senate of the Federal Court in Karlsruhe, in which proceedings are now being taken against the Communist Party of Germany, is such a special Court.

Up to the beginning of 1954 more than 800 court cases and 10,000 investigations had been based upon this lightning law. More than 30 separate proceedings were taken against one person under the law. A total of 150 such proceedings are at present being taken against three members of the Editorial Staff of the "Hamburger Volkszeitung". A total of 3600 cases are in progress under this law in one single legal district, that under the Administration of Senior State Prosecutor Dr. Topf in Lüneburg. Lüneburg Provincial Court sentenced a member of the Free German Youth as an "enemy of the state" in such a proceeding since he had posted a placard stating:

"Not a man for remilitarisation, not a penny for armaments, everything for peace."

Through this sentence the Provincial Court has proclaimed that it is "dangerous to the state", if anyone calls in a poster for a peaceable Germany.

Those who Fought Hitler are Prosecuted by Adenauer

The whole world regards the German resistance fighters against war and fascism as the best representatives of the German people, since they kept the flame of the humanist traditions of the German nation alight even during the deepest night of fascist barbarism. The West German government which wishes to remilitarise West Germany and to plunge the German people into even deeper misery than the Hitlerite fascists directs its main attack against these resistance fighters and their organisation in its campaign to wipe out all democratic rights and freedom.

In the twelve years of Hitlerite dictatorship the Communist Party of Germany made enormous sacrifices for liberty, democracy and peace, and these sacrifices will always live in German history as an example of the fight for liberation. But on November 22nd 1951, six years after the German people had been liberated from Hitlerite fascism, Dr. Robert Lehr, West German Minister of the Interior and a veteran fascist, applied to the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe for the Communist Party to be dissolved as "an unconstitutional organisation". The West German trade union newspaper "Welt der Arbeit" stated on December 28th 1951 that this

application had been made on direct orders from Washington. The paper stated:

"Considerable sections of the miners, the railway workers and the workers in heavy industry still follow communist slogans. Under these circumstances a successful defence by a fighting army would be impossible however strong rearmament might be."

Since the Communist Party fought against Hitler's policy of war it was banned and the officials and members of the Party were imprisoned, tortured and murdered. This should all be repeated now with a renewed banning of the Communist Party. The Hamburg newspaper "Die Zeit", one of the organs of the German arms concerns, confirmed this on November 22nd 1951 when it stated:

"There will be many arrests. The prisons will be filled. But there is no longer any use in talking, action must be taken."

The arms industrialists cannot feel secure in the restoration of militarism until these resistance fighters are imprisoned or executed once again. It is no coincidence that the West German government began the Trial of the Communist Party at the same time as the treaties for West German rearmament were being signed in Paris.

Six months before the first legal action was taken against the Communist Party, the Provincial Government of Rheinland Pfalz, main deployment area of the US Army in Europe, banned the Association of Nazi Persecutees, the organisation of the resistance fighters. In Hamburg the police seized the files of the social aid organisation for the victims of fascism. The death masks of executed resistance fighters were confiscated. On February 22nd 1953 groups of the fascist organisation BDJ attacked a memorial celebration for the anti-fascist fighters Hans and Sophie Scholl which had been called by resistance fighters and students. On February 23rd 1953 the Central Board of the Association of Nazi Persecutees in West Germany was banned, since it was "unconstitutional" like the Council of the same organisation which had been banned in 1951.

Fascist Measures against the Workers

The Paris Agreements are directed against the interests of the German people, and for this reason the West German government persecutes all parties and organisations which represent the real interests of the German people. The West German militarists are particularly keen to destroy democratic workers' rights in the factories, since they wish to protect arms production and to exploit the workers still further.

The authorities hope to muzzle the workers in the factories by the threat of dismissal without notice through the "Factory Constitution Law" modelled on American patterns. The main point of this law is a ban on every form of political activity in the factory in order to destroy the organisations of the working class and to subject the workers to arbitrary

treatment by the factory director. This law is a pendant of the war treaties which Chancellor Adenauer has been working out during the past few years. Since the passage of this law many court decisions have been given against shop stewards; the activity of shop stewards has been banned and they have been sacked. These persons were found guilty of offending against the scandalous paragraphs of this law which forbade "interfering with the smooth running of the factory" by reason of their political activity, that is to say representing the interests of the workers in the factory.

In May 1954 a special Federal Labour Court was opened in Cassel as the highest Court for labour legislation in West Germany. This Court has given a decision making it legal to sack a shop steward because of his activity for the Communist Party. This Court, rejecting an appeal by the man concerned, stated:

"The employer cannot be expected to continue an engagement which menaces the smooth running of the factory. Strict rules must be applied in such a case."

This decision was the signal for a campaign against progressive shop stewards reminiscent of the fascist era. The technical journal "Der Industriemeister" (The Industrial Foreman) published in October 1954 an article by economist Hans Kern from Frankfurt, entitled "Stabilizing the smooth running of the factory". This article demanded that the foremen and technical employees in the factory should keep exact lists of all their workers in which their attitude to various events could be noted, enabling a judgement of their general attitude to be made.

The employers' newspaper "Das Handelsblatt" reported on May 19th 1954 the decision of the Bavarian Provincial Labour Court on the dismissal of the shop steward of a big building firm. The judgement stated that "the shop steward was an active Communist and has acted in this capacity in the factory. The social self administration demands, above all, that there should be no doubt of the absolute adherence to the Constitution".

At the beginning of September 19th 1954 Herr Hink, a Hamburg trade union official, was dismissed without notice by the Howaldt Shipyards since he led a 90-minute protest strike of crane men against a planned reduction in wages. The directors of the shipyards justified this dismissal by quoting the factory Constitution Law and charging Hink with "interfering with the smooth running of the factory".

The Association of Textile Industrialists in Westphalia addressed a letter to all its members in May 1954 declaring that all trade union recruiting in the factory by means of posters and pamphlets was a breach of the Labour Constitutional Law. This letter stated:

"Factory directors are entitled to prohibit the introduction and distribution of trade union propaganda material. We recommend that the work's council should be warned of this. In cases of repeated breaches, despite warnings, in the form of the distribution of propaganda material

during the working period by members of the works council, counter-measures can be taken up to and including dismissal without notice."

During the strike of Bavarian metal workers in August 1954 there were a whole series of measures against participants in the strike.

The Bavarian government sent the police into action against striking workers of the Siemens factory in Munich. On August 18th 1954 a detachment of 200 police used brutal force in an attempt to break through the pickets in front of the factory and bring strike breakers into the works. There was a clash between the police and the legal pickets who had attempted to make the police aware of their anti-working-class action.

Chancellor Adenauer used the strike in order to insult the trade unions and to threaten still more stringent legislation. The official Christian Democratic Press Service stated on August 19th 1954:

"... The progress of the strikes has shown that the trade unions are not in a position to maintain sufficient control of strike movements such as the present one... If the attitude of the trade unions makes trade union and strike legislation necessary in the interests of the democratic state, it will certainly be possible to obtain a majority for such legislation."

Encouraged by this threat the industrialists in the metal industry launched a whole series of lock-outs and economic measures against participants in the strike. This movement was headed by the electric firm Siemens-Schuckert in Bavaria. In Nuremberg alone more than 2,000 workers were locked out because they had taken part in the strike.

In Munich, Augsburg and other Bavarian cities more than 4,000 workers were disciplined by larger and smaller firms. On September 6th 1954 the Augsburg Labour Court confirmed a court decision against the metal workers' trade union, banning this union from issuing leaflets and taking other measures calling for a strike against these lock-outs and other disciplinary measures. At the same time the metal workers' trade union was sentenced to bear the costs of the case.

Economic Measures against the Workers

Measures taken against the workers are not confined to lock-outs and dismissals. Other economic measures are used in order to subject them to the arms trust. In Nuremberg alone the State Prosecutor opened more than 1000 cases against "ring leaders" of the Bavarian metal workers strike. Augsburg Provincial Court fined the Secretary of the printing and paper trade union, Franz Rother, for double breach of the peace. Kurt Vollmerk, chairman of the strike committee, who was charged together with him, was fined 100 marks because of this activity in this committee. The two men had caused strike breakers to stop working. The court gave its opinion that although the right to strike was guaranteed in the Constitution, it could not be used "in breach of common law". The judgement stated "the will of the strikebreakers must also be respected".

After the strike of metal workers the MAN Concern raised the rents of the apartments which it provides for factory workers. The rent of an apartment let to a metal worker with a family of six, who had participated in the strike, was raised from 55 marks to 80 marks and he was given notice to quit. The recreation centre maintained by the works was closed immediately after the strike.

At a press conference Josef Bauer, chairman of the works council of the Bungartz Agricultural Machinery Factory in Augsburg, announced that after the resumption of work all special proficiency pay and other bonuses had been suspended for most workers who had participated in the strike. The firm also cancelled its subsidy for the factory canteen. Hans Barth, works director of the factory, stated: "We have the right to take these measures. We are following the instructions issued by the Association of Metal Industrialists during the strike."

Questionnaires and Black Lists

The District Chairman of the West German Trade Union Congress in Augsburg reported on measures taken by the firm Gartner & Co. All workers in this factory were given a questionnaire with 67 questions which they had to answer, if they wished to be re-employed after the strike. The questions included the following:

"How long have you been working in the factory?"

"Where did you work previously?"

"What did you earn there?"

"What do you earn now?"

"Do you live in a factory-owned apartment?"

"In which apartment?"

"How high is the rent?"

"Do you have a garden from the firm, how big is it and what rent do you pay?"

"Do you live in an apartment co-financed by the factory?"

The District Chairman of the Trade Union Congress stated that the owner of this factory had only been allowed to resume ownership in 1948, because of his nazi activities. Before this the workers themselves, hungry and in rags, had re-erected the factory and reinstalled the machines.

Similar actions have been taken against striking workers in other parts of West Germany. The manager of the Hommel Works in Mannheim drew up a black list which was passed on to other employers in the metal industry. This list named 53 workers who had been sacked after a strike lasting five weeks. Trade union investigations show that 34 of them have not been able to find work in their trade in other factories.

These actions directed against participants in strikes show the efforts which are being made to use economic and state measures against the workers and thus to deprive them of all rights, as during the nazi period.

Heinz Seeger, chairman of the woodworkers' union in the West German trade union congress, writing in his union newspaper the "Holzarbeiter-Zeitung" of December 1st 1953 had this say about the lack of rights of the workers in West Germany to-day:

"We could quote hundreds of cases which show that in to-day's state and social order democratic rights which have been proclaimed by Parliament have no validity for employees since the employees are economically dependent upon the employers to such a degree that they do not dare to claim these rights.

The recent conferences of the Central Board and officials of the woodworkers trade union have brought to notice the fact that the employees in the factories often do not use their right to organise, that is to say to become members of the union, because the employer makes it clear that he will sack anyone whom he knows to be a member or official of a trade union.

In the recent period we have had to conduct a considerable series of court cases because trade union officials, protecting the interests of their colleagues, were sacked for very flimsy reasons. In most cases the employers have paid a fine and thus avoided re-employing these persons. A very considerable number of our officials, particularly in country districts, are unemployed and have little chance of ever getting work again in a factory. What are the democratic liberties worth, if they are not valid for every last sawmill worker in the deepest Bavarian forest?"

"The Spirit of the House of Siemens"

The great three-and-a-half week strike of Bavarian metal workers in autumn 1954 made the West Germans arms kings very angry. The newspaper controlled by the trusts and concerns were filled with threats against the trade unions. Such newspapers as the "Industriekurier" and the "Rheinischer Merkur" stated that the lost working time and the higher wages won by the workers would have to be made up by higher prices. With the cynicism which has always marked the policy of the trust bosses, the workers were threatened with the use of "governmental force", since their wage claims were "undemocratic" and because allegedly higher wages would harm the workers because they would lead to higher prices. At the same time a small handful of stockholders were pocketing profits amounting to thousands of millions of marks.

A speech delivered at this period by Dr. von Siemens can be quoted here as typical of the attitude of the trust bosses. He is one of the class of imperialist robbers who supported the Hitlerite militarists and made profits from the war and who provided money and officials for Hitler's espionage system. On October 15th 1954 Dr. von Siemens declared in a speech on the strike action in Bavaria:

"The police who prevent force and compulsion (meaning the strike, ed.) are doing nothing but their duty... We are told that there is no legal basis for the police action. In this case the laws must be changed."

If the laws are insufficient, then they must be changed, says Dr. von Siemens. It is clear that he plans martial law against the workers, sentences of hard labour against strikers, and police batons and fire hoses against pickets. This policy of suppressing the workers is described by this war criminal as "the spirit of the house of Siemens". Further in his speech he stated:

"Workers in our factory who have not been affected by the spirit of the house of Siemens shall not be allowed to return to work here. I am afraid we have ascertained that some members of the works council have taken part in the disturbances... We have dismissed these persons."

The fact that these trust bosses are still in the saddle in West Germany, although they have plunged the German people into the bitterest need twice in one generation, is the responsibility of the Western Occupation Powers who have refused to carry out the terms of the Potsdam Agreement. The fact that these trust bosses, whose hands are red with the blood of millions, are able to talk like this and act like this, is the practical result of the policy of restoring German militarism.

Auschwitz Murderers are Back Again

Reactionary fascist racial theories are in full bloom again in West Germany to-day. These pseudo-scientific theories expound the "right of the superior race" to conquer the world. Fascist racial theories have been used in the past to make chauvinistic propaganda amongst the people, and they provided the theoretical basis for the barbarous liquidation campaign of the SS. The millions of murders carried out during the last war, which shocked the whole world, were justified by the alleged "right of the master race".

These barbaric theories expressed in antisemitism and pogroms have been revived to an alarming degree in West Germany in connection with the war preparations. A whole series of antisemitic books, magazines and pamphlets have been issued, praising the crimes of the SS, insulting other nations and uttering threats. Imperialist reactionaries are using racial hatred, as they did during the Hitlerite period, in order to confuse the people and to camouflage their plans for conquest.

In 1952 the Düsseldorf publisher H. Strunk published a pamphlet entitled "Demon Gold" in which Ernst Jaekel, former Captain of the Nazi Navy, attempted to prove that it was not German militarists who attacked foreign countries but that.

"people of foreign race always invaded Aryan soil like weasels invade the chicken coop."

Mathilde Ludendorff, widow of the veteran fascist General Ludendorff, stated in her magazine "Der Quell" that has been allowed to re-appear, that after long years of silence she could "make her voice heard again". This antisemitic magazine stated on May 9th 1954:

"... Our people will be led into new fallacies, if everything which national socialism wished to do is condemned as a crime."

For the past eight years nazi criminals now living in Buenos Aires have been issuing a monthly magazine "Der Weg" which is sent to West Germany from Argentina. These mass murderers, who managed to escape after the last war, conduct in this magazine a murderous propaganda campaign against the Jewish people. The issue of "Der Weg" for September 1954 described the bloody liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto as "an act of self defence". In another article the Second World war is described as "the attack made by world Jewry on Germany". Israel is described as a "state of Jewish rogues" and the French Ambassador in the Saar is described as „the Jew Hirsch".

In 1951 the West German publishing house "Hohe Warte" published a book entitled "Jewry and Antisemitism" by a lawyer named W. Prothmann. In this book he states that it was not the SS who was responsible for the liquidation of millions of Jews but the Jews themselves were responsible:

"If the nations take action against the Jews, this is in self-defence, since the nations feel themselves menaced by the Jews."

Legal action was taken against the author of this book and some persons who had sold it, on the ground of the antisemitic propaganda which it contained. They were acquitted in July 1954 by a West Berlin Court and the state had to bear the costs of the case.

The results of this propaganda campaign are already becoming evident. In May 1954 the West German newspaper "Allgemeine Wochenzitung der Juden in Deutschland" stated that the desecrations of Jewish cemeteries were steadily increasing. Since 1945 more than 200 Jewish cemeteries in West Germany have been desecrated, and in the past three years not a single one of the criminals responsible has been punished. In November 1954 fascist rowdies, armed with axes and stones, broke into a college of the Comenius-Foundation in Burscheid, North-Rhine Westphalia, shouting: "The Jewish pig must get out, we shall kill him."

On November 23rd 1954 during the West Berlin election campaign, organised rowdies of the fascist German Party, which has Ministers in the Adenauer government, attacked members of the audience at an election meeting in the Sportpalast, West Berlin, shouting: "You Jewish swine, it is time that you were sent back to concentration camp."

In West Berlin, a number of Jewish citizens have received threatening letters, which stated:

"Germany must be rid of Jews once again. The final date is February 27th 1956. Remember this date. We are here again — Berlin will soon be free of Jews. Our hour has struck."

At a meeting of the "German Reich Youth" held in Krefeld in October 1954 the Nazi Major Krüger described the French Premier as "that Jew Mendès-France" and said that the West German state was "the state of the European order" to which the French people must subordinate themselves.

At its meeting in Geneva in August 1953 the Jewish World Congress remarked upon the fact that there was no legislation in West Germany directed against propaganda for antisemitic pogroms. This is the West Germany which Adenauer describes as a centre of "freedom and democracy".

Now that old nazi officials have been replaced in all key posts in West Germany, the survivors of the fascist terror and the relatives of those murdered are once again in the hands of those who formerly persecuted them. The so-called "Restitution Offices" are largely staffed by former nazis who treat the claimants in such a way that many bourgeois West German newspapers have been forced to protest.

Radio Munich, for instance, stated that the 76 year old widow of a man murdered in the Ghetto of Riga received no pension because she could not produce an "official" death certificate. There is documentary evidence that all the 27,000 inmates of this Ghetto were murdered. A West German Court refused to grant a pension to a Jewish persecutee on the grounds that "the fatless diet in the concentration camp had been beneficial to his health". Another Restitution Office has demanded the repayment of restitution already paid to survivors on the grounds that the inmates of the Ghetto in Soschnowitz were only shot if they left the Ghetto.

On the other hand, concentration camp guard Herta Ehlert who was sentenced to prison for manslaughter and has since been released, has been paid "compensation as a returning prisoner of war". This small selection from the great number of cases available shows that the persecutees are to-day being "looked after" by their former persecutors.

All this is going on under the eyes and with the agreement of the ruling circles of the United States, Britain and France, whose people got to know the "racial theories" of Hitler in the form of the SS beasts who displayed their "superman" theories in every city and every village in France and in the other countries of Europe.

Operation "Vulcan"

In order to put their aggressive plans into effect, the militarists do not only use the most brutal methods to suppress the working class but use equal brutality against all citizens whose views and actions run contrary to the policy of war. It should not be forgotten that the Hitlerites did not

simply murder Communists like Ernst Thälmann and Social Democrats like Rudolf Breitscheid but also Catholics like Hans and Sophie Scholl and thousands of other honest Germans of all opinions. The Adenauer regime is already guilty of the murder of the young patriot Philipp Müller and the merchant Dr. Hartig.

In April 1953 Chancellor Adenauer, who was in Washington for conferences with President Eisenhower, received a telegram from Vice-Chancellor Blücher. Blücher informed him that forty prominent West German citizens had been arrested at one blow. Adenauer needed this action in order to make himself popular in Washington. Newspapers of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union trumpeted: "The biggest Soviet secret organisation operating in the West since 1945 has been smashed."

But the West German magazine "Der Spiegel" reported on April 15th 1953 that when Ministerial Director Egidi, Chief of the Police Department in the West German Ministry of the Interior, was asked about these "Soviet spies", he was forced to declare that none of those arrested had any connection with Soviet circles.

In actual fact the persons arrested were West German business men, who wish to trade with the East since the American-German war economy provided them with no opportunity for their export business. For Adenauer, however, trade with the East means the danger that it would be shown to be true that it was possible to reach a peaceful understanding with the nations of the camp of peace. This is precisely what Adenauer does not want, since this stands in contradiction to his "policy of strength".

The characteristic factor about this police action, which was called "Operation Vulcan", was the method used by the West German government against all persons who knowingly or unknowingly act contrary to the policy of remilitarisation. One of those arrested, Dr. Hartig, committed suicide soon after he had been taken into custody. He was a completely unpolitical man who could not get over the fact that such illegal action had been taken against him. On January 9th 1954, the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" commented:

"At the end of 1953 it was announced that the proceedings against the deceased merchant Dr. Hans Hartig of Dusseldorf had been dropped for lack of evidence."

The West German government drove Dr. Hartig into his grave in order to frighten other merchants and industrialists who wished to trade with the German Democratic Republic and the other states of the camp of peace.

The fact that the entire action was taken without any legal basis and solely for political reasons is shown by the detail that the exporter Walter Sebald from Frankfurt was arrested although a completely different merchant also named Sebald was mentioned in the list. After months of detention under investigation, nearly all those arrested had to be released, since there was no trace of any illegal act on their part.

"State of Emergency"

All the facts quoted here and many others which could be quoted show that West Germany is developing more and more into a military dictatorship. The West German trade unions have been forced to describe the systematic attack on all democratic rights as "a state of dictatorship". (Dr. Victor Agartz addressing the Third Federal Congress of the West German Trade Union Congress). All new laws and decrees together with foreign political commitments are discussed in advance with the representatives of the arms trusts. The "Council of the Gods", the aggressive directorship of German arms industrialists, which ran Hitler's policy from behind the scenes, is to-day in control of the policy of the Bonn government. The result of this is the persecution of officials of the workers' movements and the suppression of the working people and all those in West Germany who are endeavouring to achieve German unity. The result is the staffing of the West German governmental apparatus with unreconstructed nazis, the sanctification of Hitlerite barbarism and the rebirth of racial ideology and ideas of world hegemony.

The growing dictatorship in West Germany is reminiscent of the political situation in Germany immediately before Hitler came to power, when the last democratic liberties were removed and all policy was subordinated to the launching of a new world war. At that time it was the German President, the militarist Hindenburg, who announced a "state of emergency" in accordance with Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, thus placing power in the hands of the militarists, which they could use to liquidate all democratic liberties, to smash the workers' organisations, and to establish the fascist dictatorship. In the same way the ratification and putting into effect of the Paris Agreements would give the West German militarists the chance to establish their dictatorship with the help of the clause about the "state of emergency". The only difference would be that to-day there is the additional pressure provided by American bayonets.

The clauses in the Paris Agreements providing for a "state of emergency" which were demanded by the Occupation Powers and immediately accepted by Dr. Adenauer, are intended as a mortal blow against democracy. By accepting these clauses Adenauer has pledged himself to strip the last remnants of the democratic facade from the West German Constitution. In September 1948 the West German Parliamentary Council, the precursor of the West German Parliament, showed its opposition to such dictatorship by rejecting a new form of the Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution. Now however, under Article 5 of the "Convention On Relations Between The Three Powers and The Federal Republic Of Germany", the Western Powers have given instructions for the Constitution to be broken and for a new Article to be inserted which goes much further than infamous Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution.

Even in bourgeois papers in West Germany there is great uneasiness about this threat of military dictatorship. The Stuttgart newspaper "Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung" of October 30th 1954, stated:

"The right to impose a state of emergency, however it may be worded, must bring with it a considerable displacement of the power political emphasis, since it foresees the use of troops to maintain order in the state. Who will rule during such a state of emergency? Can the danger be avoided that final political power in the state will be granted to those who control the state of emergency? In the foreign policy debate before the Paris Conference Federal Chancellor Adenauer denied that a new Article 48 was planned.

The right to declare a state of emergency provides political dynamism which must be properly controlled. If the signs are not deceptive, the coming debate will be overshadowed by the fear of the 'too strong men' in the State. Quite apart from the basic power-political question the Social Democratic Party fears that the right to declare a state of emergency might smuggle in through the back door a 'strike breaking law' which, together with the emergency rights remaining to the Allies as the Occupation Power in the whole of Germany could lead to a further undermining of parliamentary democracy. The accusations already made that among the correspondence on the Paris Agreements, which has not yet been published, there is also a letter of the Chancellor dealing with this right to declare a state of emergency on the part of the Allies and of the Federal Republic, and the accusation that this letter has intentionally been kept secret shows clearly enough the suspicions which have already been aroused."

The "Welt", Hamburg, dated October 28th 1954 posed the question:

"Do the Allies demand a new Article 48 although those who created our Constitution were unanimous that this back door to dictatorship must be locked? Shadows of the past are arising . . ."

It is obvious why the right to declare a state of emergency is demanded in view of the unrest of the German population over the enormous burdens of rearmament, the threat of conscription, and the immediate danger of war. Such a state of emergency would be a threat to every criticism, every resistance, every meeting, every demonstration and every strike. It is intended to convert West Germany into a huge prison and concentration camp. The people are being terrorised because a war crime is being prepared. The road to dictatorship is clear for everyone to see.

But the German people can also see the way out. The ratification and the putting into effect of the Paris Agreements can and must be prevented.

VI.

West German Resistance to the Paris Agreements

West German Chancellor Adenauer claimed that he was acting in the name of the German people on October 23rd 1954 when he signed his name to the Paris Agreements, thus choosing remilitarisation instead of reunification. Facts prove the opposite, however. The German people, including the overwhelming majority of the West German population, want the peaceful reunification of Germany and reject the remilitarisation of West Germany as the road to partitioning and war.

Adenauer based himself upon the results of the West German general elections held on September 6th 1953. In these elections his party, the Christian Democratic Union, received 12,440,799 votes from a total electorate of 33,039,978, and as a result of the undemocratic electoral law he was able to win a majority of the seats in Parliament. Adenauer's Party only won these twelve million votes by offering a "social programme" which it never intended to put into effect. In the electoral campaign the Christian Democratic Party consistently suppressed the inevitable results of its policy of remilitarisation and misled the people. On the very eve of the elections Adenauer stated publicly that he was ready to open immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union. He indulged in this electoral fraud in order to have a free hand for his war policy after the elections.

Since September 1953 there has been a decisive change in the situation. In none of the provincial elections held during 1954 was Adenauer's party able to repeat this fraud, since in the meantime the working people of West Germany had felt the first results of remilitarisation and because in the meantime the working people in all European countries had taken up the struggle for the defeat of the so-called European Defence Community.

On June 27th 1954 provincial elections were held in North-Rhine-Westphalia. In the general elections on September 6th 1953 the Christian Democratic Union had received 3,915,320 votes in this province, but in the provincial elections the party received only 2,855,672 votes. In less than a year more than one million voters had turned their backs on Adenauer and his party.

On September 12th 1954 provincial elections were held in Schleswig Holstein. In this province the Christian Democratic Union had received 636,570 votes at the general elections but the number of their voters sank

to 384,870 in the provincial elections. Almost half the Christian Democratic voters had ceased to support Adenauer's party.

On November 28th 1954 provincial elections were held in Hesse and Bavaria. The Christian Democratic Union launched special "provincial programmes" in an attempt to repeat their general election victory. With the help of its coalition partners it launched a wild campaign against the Soviet Union in order to divert the attention of the voters from the Paris Agreements. Despite this the voting strength of the Christian Democratic Union in Hesse sank from 33.2 per cent in the general elections to 24.1 per cent in the provincial elections in Hesse. About 250,000 voters refused to vote for the Christian Democratic candidates.

In Bavaria the Catholic Church intervened in the provincial election campaign and all priests called upon their flocks to vote for Adenauer's party. Despite this the proportion of votes given to the Christian Democratic Union sank from 47.9 per cent to 38 per cent. This meant that about 500,000 electors had turned their backs on the Christian Democratic Union since 1953.

This was the answer which the voters gave to Adenauer in four provincial elections for his support of EDC and later the Paris Agreements. In four of the eleven West German provinces he lost, in the course of one year, about two million votes. This was a clear vote of no confidence against the Paris Agreements. It is quite clear that far more electors would have rejected Adenauer's policy, if they had been given a free decision between war policy and peace policy, without any diversion manoeuvres.

Although these elections may not give a completely clear picture of the opinion of the West German population, they show that Adenauer is not entitled to speak in the name of the West German population. It is possible to win a clearer picture of the real desires of the people and their deep-seated rejection of a restoration of militarism by studying the resistance of the people to Adenauer's policy as a whole.

The Demands of the German People

More than two years ago, on November 2nd 1952, the Communist Party of Germany proclaimed its "Programme for the National Reunification of Germany". This programme showed that the German people could only live in peace if the partitioning of Germany was overcome and if the old militarist forces in West Germany were removed from all influential positions in society.

The programme stated:

"The Communist Party of Germany strives for the alliance of the people of West Germany for the liberation struggle for the national reunification of Germany with the following aims: the reunification of Germany as a united, democratic, peace-loving and independent state, and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany."

The Communists demand an understanding between West and East Germany and the holding of free All-German elections. The occupation troops must be withdrawn from Germany and a peace treaty must be concluded with Germany. In the name of the German people the Communist Party defends the Saar territory as an inalienable part of Germany and denies to all foreign states the right to maintain military bases on German soil or to drag Germany into military alliances directed against other states.

To ensure the democratic liberties of the German people the Communist Party of Germany demands the prohibition of all militarist and fascist associations and the banning of all forms of war, racial and nationalist propaganda.

When this programme was announced the West German militarists made fun of it, stating that the Communist Party "has no influence". In the meantime, however, millions of West Germans have adopted the basic aims of this programme, and the main lines of the programme are even reflected in official statements made by the West German trade union congress (at its Third Federal Congress) and by the Social Democratic Party (at its Sixth Party Congress). The main ideas of the "Programme for the National Reunification of Germany" have been adopted by the masses of the people in West Germany and are being converted into political actions.

For this very reason the West German government persecutes the leaders of the Communist Party and directs against them a huge apparatus of secret police, terrorist groups and provocateurs. The West German government, basing its power upon the occupation forces, is making every attempt to break popular resistance and to rob it of its brains. By issuing a warrant for the arrest of Max Reimann, Chairman of the Communist Party, the authorities have attempted to rob him of the possibility of taking action. The other leading officials of the party, including Fritz Rische, Walter Fisch, Josef Ledwohn, Oskar Neumann, Karl Dickel, Willy Bechtle are either in prison or warrants have been issued for their arrest. Thousands of young patriots, active members of the Communist Party, have been imprisoned like the young fighter for peace Jupp Angenforth.

This terror directed against the Communist Party shows that the West German government regards the Communists as the most consistent enemies of remilitarisation and of the conversion of West Germany into a battlefield.

In hundreds of towns and villages motions introduced by the Communist fractions in the Councils have led the council decisions to oppose the demolition chambers which should have been constructed in bridges and strategic roads on the orders of the Occupation Powers. In such cases the Communists receive the support of the majority of the population, since they represent the interests of the majority of the population.

In the city of Nuremberg the Communists demanded that the city centre should be put out of bounds for American soldiers, because of the repeated

acts of violence and interference with the population there. Since this Communist demand received the support of the population the American commander in Bavaria was forced to put the city centre out of bounds for his soldiers.

In very many places the Communists have led the population in acts of resistance against the requisitioning of land and villages. In Ludwigshafen the Town Council, acting on a Communist motion, unanimously refused to allow demolition chambers to be constructed in bridges over the Rhine. Similar action was taken by the Town Council of Mannheim. The Municipal Council of Überau protested, on the basis of a Communist motion, against the stationing of atomic cannon in West Germany. In the City Council of Mainz a similar motion introduced by the Communist Party was added to by the Social Democratic Fraction, and adopted by a clear majority.

With the help of such actions the Communists have shown again and again that neither the Occupation Powers nor the Adenauer government are able to push through their militarist policy against the wishes of the population.

With the growth of the resistance action against remilitarisation the sympathies of the population for the Communist Party also grow, while Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union consistently loses support. In all provincial elections in 1954 the Communist Party won considerably more votes than in the 1953 general elections, despite all forms of electoral obstacles, and the undemocratic electoral law which makes it necessary for a party to win 5 per cent of the total votes before it can be represented in Parliament.

Made uneasy by the growing support for the Communists, the Adenauer government took action in November 1954 which was intended to destroy the Communist Party. A trial for the banning of the Communist Party began before the Federal Constitutional Court, as a new edition of the Reichstag Fire Trial conducted by the Nazis in 1933. The West German government, by means of this trial, imitated the action of the fascist governments in Spain and Greece which have banned the Communist Parties.

This trial of the Communist Party aroused hundreds of thousands of West German workers, who saw in this trial a parallel to the persecution of the Communists in 1933. In thousands of meetings and in hundreds of thousands of letters and resolutions the people called on the Federal Constitutional Court to quash the trial.

In the first days of the trial the defence attorneys of the Communist Party showed that the prosecutors in this case were the same people who had persecuted democrats during the Hitler period; that judges of the Federal Constitutional Court had been promoted by Hitler for their disregard of law; and that the prosecuting council declared the Potsdam Agreement to be a "scrap of paper" in order to justify militarist rule in West Germany.

By means of this trial the Adenauer government hopes to label the Communist Party as "unconstitutional" and "totalitarian", but the representatives of the Communist Party have been able to prove to the German people and to world opinion that this trial itself is unconstitutional and is only intended to prepare for military dictatorship aimed at breaking popular resistance to remilitarisation.

"Not a Man and not a Penny for Adenauer" say Social Democrats

The members of the Social Democratic Party are just as indignant as the Communist about Adenauer's policy of remilitarisation and national treachery. The Sixth Party Congress of the Social Democratic Party, which met in West Berlin from July 20th to 24th 1954, received dozens of motions from all parts of West Germany calling for the same basic aims as those outlined in the "Programme for National Reunification". Here are some of the most important of these resolutions.

The Brunswick district of the Social Democratic Party proposed the following resolution:

"The unity of Germany in peace and freedom remains for the Social Democratic Party the main aim of its policy. The Party Board and the Parliamentary Fraction are requested to hold fast to their policy of reunifying Germany and rejecting EDC. A clear position, understandable to everybody, is demanded on the question of rearmament."

The Essen sub-district demanded:

"On this basis the Party Congress rejects clearly the policy of military strength supported by Dr. Konrad Adenauer and the present majority in Parliament. The Party Congress declares that the Social Democratic Party rejects every rearmament of Germany, in whatever form, and will oppose it with the most resolute resistance."

The Frankfurt/Main sub-district demanded negotiations between East and West Germany in the following resolution:

"The Social Democratic Party demands joint negotiations between the governments of the Federal Republic, the Soviet Zone and the representatives of the Occupation Powers on the normalisation of relations between both parts of Germany and for the preparation of peaceful reunification. The Social Democratic Party demands the establishment of diplomatic relations and unrestricted trade between the Federal Republic and the states of the Eastern Block."

Resolutions from the Stelle and Lemgo party groups and the Brunswick district stated:

"The rearmament of the Federal Republic, whether in the framework of EDC, NATO or in any other form, is decisively rejected by the Social Democratic Party and will be consistently fought with all Parliamentary

and non-Parliamentary means . . . The Social Democratic Party demands the banning of atomic and bacteriological weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes for the well-being of mankind. The Social Democratic Party regards the normalisation of relations between the two German partial states as the most urgent German task . . ."

"The Party Congress should decide that the Party Board should give instructions to all local party groups and all Social Democratic fractions in Municipalities, Councils and Provincial Parliaments to oppose the construction of demolition chambers in streets, bridges and other installations."

"The Brunswick district notes a lack of clarity in the attitude of the Parliamentary fraction in the question of rearmament. We believe that Social Democratic policy should be directed not only against the European Defence Community but, under the present circumstances, against all forms of rearmament of the Federal Republic."

From these resolutions submitted by Social Democratic organisations it is clear that members of the Social Democratic Party are still active in the spirit of their great old leader August Bebel and that they are not willing to give a man or a penny for the militarist policies of the Adenauer regime. The desire is clearly expressed in these demands from subsidiary organisations of the Social Democratic Party to oppose a block of peace-loving workers to the block of the militarists in Bonn.

Under the influence of the opinion of the ordinary members of the Party the Sixth Party Congress, despite strong pressure from American High Commissioner Conant and the "pro-American" fraction in the leadership, resolved that the Party Board should not be allowed to approve any form of "defence contribution". Thirty delegates from South-Hesse, Lower Rhine, Brunswick, Hanover, Rhineland and Hesse-Nassau called upon the Social Democratic Party to reject every form of rearmament.

Social Democratic Leaders call for Negotiations and reject Adenauer's War Policy

After the signature of the Paris Agreements in October 1954 Erich Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, repeated in newspaper articles and in election meetings the demands which had been made by delegates to the Party Congress. In a radio address on November 4th 1954 he declared:

"Putting the Paris Agreements into effect would entail the danger of heightening the tension in the international situation . . . There is the danger that we shall slide into a development which would lead to a broadening and deepening of the ditch which runs right across our country and right through Europe . . . The results of such a development for the Federal Republic and for the reunification of Germany are as

boundless as the consequences for the relationship between the West and the East... Such a step must necessarily petrify the partitioning of Germany... If no negotiated agreement is achieved between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union on German reunification in peace and freedom, the unsolved German question will remain a wound dangerous to the life of Europe. If this wound is not healed there can be and there will be no relaxation of tension, no quiet and no secure peace in Europe or the world."

Social Democratic member of Parliament Helmut Kalbitzer from Hamburg recalled the warning words of many delegates to the Sixth Party Congress in an article which he wrote in the "Fränkische Tagespost" on November 2nd 1954 on the Note of the Soviet Union dated October 23rd 1954. He stated:

"The Federal Government declares that rearmament is necessary to protect peace and liberty but it does not answer the question how armaments can contribute to peaceful reunification. German civil war can be avoided if the withdrawn occupation troops are replaced by an All-German police troop under the command of a freely elected All-German government... On October 23rd the Soviet government repeated its offer for an international control of the People's police. It is a serious omission of the Western Powers that they have ignored this proposal. If the Occupation Powers wish for reunification in freedom, they will not be able to avoid taking the decision to disband the civil war troops that they have helped to create or which they have allowed to be created. Otherwise Germany will become a second Korea".

In the Note of October 23rd the Soviet government proposed that a Conference on Germany should be held during November 1954 to discuss peaceful reunification, All-German free elections, the immediate withdrawal of occupation troops and the summoning of an All-European Conference on Collective Security. Commenting upon this Note Herbert Wehner, member of the Central Board of the Social Democratic Party and Chairman of the West German Parliamentary Committee for All-German Questions stated:

"The Note is a starting point for dealing with the German problem in connection with the question of European security. Nobody who wants reunification can simply ignore this Soviet Note."

After the signature of the Paris Agreements nearly all newpapers in West Germany under Social Democratic influence protested against the rearmament of German militarism, against the separation of the Saar Territory and against the abandonment of German reunification.

All this shows that Adenauer, if he forces through the Paris Agreements, must reckon with strong resistance from the Social Democratic workers of West Germany.

Members of the Social Democratic Party are made uneasy, however, by the fact that leading representatives of the Party, although they deliver sharply worded speeches against remilitarisation, are making little effort to organise, together with other opponents of remilitarisation, action outside Parliament directed against this development. Instead of this they continue to cooperate in the work of the Parliamentary Committees dealing with rearmament, and to conduct secret discussions with Adenauer. All opponents of remilitarisation cannot see how this attitude can be reconciled with the warnings about the serious consequences of the Paris treaties. Since Adenauer has a clear majority in the West German Parliament it is clear that Parliamentary opposition is not enough. The Paris Agreements could quickly be overthrown, however, if the organised strength of the workers and other opponents of remilitarisation was used in actions outside Parliament.

West German Trade Unionists Organise Resistance

Clear opposition to Adenauer's war policy, and clear support for a policy of peaceful reunification was shown at the Third Congress of the German trade union congress held in Frankfurt/Main from October 4th to 9th 1954. The delegates applauded Dr. Victor Agartz, head of the Scientific-Economic Institute of the trade unions when he described West Germany as a reactionary dictatorship in which the opinion of the people was disregarded. Dr. Agartz stated:

"No draft law of any importance is decided upon by the Federal Cabinet before the various employers' associations have given their opinion... In practice every big trust has to-day a representative in the Bonn Parliament, apart from the many experts who work in this sense... The structure and the order of West German economy is based upon the bayonets of the Western Occupation Powers... The provisional constitutional construction of the West German Constitution has obviously helped the development of the Federal Republic in the direction of an authoritarian system of government under which the possibilities of Parliamentary control have been reduced to a minimum... We note with great uneasiness the promotion of fascist elements in the administration and in politics. At the same time it is often overlooked that the same development is in progress, perhaps to an even greater extent, in active economic policy."

It was stated clearly at the Third Congress of the West German trade union congress that Adenauer's war policy had nothing in common with the German people, democratic decisions of the people of West German or with right and law. Adenauer's war policy is formulated by the experts of the arms trusts who control the West German Parliament to a growing degree with the help of Adenauer's majority.

The Third West German Trade Union Congress spoke in the name of over six million West German workers and office employees in rejecting

Adenauer's war policy. In this it was in full agreement with trade unionists in the German Democratic Republic. With only four votes against the Congress adopted a resolution which stated:

"The conditions for the maintenance of peace in Europe and the unity of Germany in peace and freedom must be speedily created. This is not only the demand of the German people but is also necessary in the interests of world peace.

Such a united Germany would be able to carry out, honestly and truly, all obligations resting upon it as part of the Community of nations. It would be able to assist in overcoming the fateful differences between the peoples.

The German trade unions have learned from the bitter lessons of the past that democracy must be vigilant. Those who threaten liberty, threaten all the ideals for which the trade unions have fought since their foundation and for which trade unionists have made the heaviest sacrifices until the present.

The Third Congress of the German trade union congress notes with great worry that the decisions of the London Conference have prepared for the integration of the Federal Republic in an alliance system of power politics, a development which would be completed by the ratification of the London Agreements.

This would seriously endanger an international relaxation of power-political differences and the possibility of reuniting Germany. Rearmament and establishment of a German army on the basis of the London Decisions would seriously threaten the inner development of the Federal Republic with the establishment of a militarist state dictatorship which would entail the termination of the efforts of the German workers movement to create a political, social and economic democracy."

This resolution formed the basis for a whole series of trade union actions against the remilitarisation of West Germany.

Here is a small selection of the countless actions taken in the closing month of 1954 by factory groups and trade union organisations against Adenauer's war policy.

The printing and paper trade unions in Dusseldorf passed a resolution at a full meeting calling for the posting of placards against rearmament and the summoning of a youth meeting to protest against conscription. A resolution introduced by a young member was accepted with only four counter-votes pledging the printers in the Dusseldorf area not to print any material needed for remilitarisation or call-up notices for the new army.

Similar resolutions were passed by the members of the printing and paper trade unions in Frankfurt/Main.

The members of the printing and paper trade unions in Essen decided unanimously to do no printing work connected with rearmament. In parti-

cular no soldiers' pay-books, identification cards or call-up notices would be printed.

The Hamburg woodworkers' trade union unanimously approved a resolution calling for the use of every means of struggle against remilitarisation. The resolution stated in part:

"We shall not allow a single worker to be called up from our factories. We shall take the necessary action in our factories . . ."

Similar resolutions were passed by the workers in the Rheindruck GmbH, Mannheim, the Rheinverlag, Ludwigshafen, the Stadtwerke, Mannheim and by the work's council of a building site of the Opel firm., Rüsselsheim.

The Stuttgart district committee of the West German trade union congress decided at a packed mass meeting to organise a mass demonstration of the trade unionists and population of Stuttgart directed against Adenauer's policy.

The delegate conference of the metal workers union in Wuppertal addressed an appeal to the members of the West German Parliament in the name of 20,000 metal workers in the city. The Members of Parliament were warned that they should not ratify the Paris Agreements and that the trade unionists would not allow their young colleagues to be conscripted. It was also decided to hold a big central demonstration against West German rearmament.

The district trade union committee in Nuremberg organised a protest demonstration against rearmament and remilitarisation at the end of November together with the Socialist youth organisation, trade union youth and conscientious objectors. The demonstrators included a number of war cripples and posters and banners were carried with the slogan:

"War is a crime",

"No conscription, no medals, no parades",

"Who wants to be a soldier?",

"We want butter, not guns".

At a meeting in Cologne delegates of the trade union of public services and transport called upon shops stewards to inform all union members of the fighting decisions of the trade union, and to discuss how these measures could be put into effect.

At a works meeting in the metal factory Dahlmann near Hagen, 19 workers refused to work on an order for war material. They declared they did not wish to be responsible for the death of young Germans in foreign interests.

The members of the local group of the miners union in Schultendorf protested against the planned banning of the Communist Party and issued a public appeal stating:

"The hour of resistance has struck. The Constitution is being trampled upon. We have heard and understand the threats that there are still cells free for conscientious objectors, and that trade unionists are ripe for prison."

In many cases the protests against rearmament have been coupled with the demand that the Communist Party should not be banned. Six hundred miners of the "Nordstern" mine voted their support for the Communist Party in its fight against the ban. Many of them were Christians and Social Democrats.

Thousands of further examples could be given of the readiness for action by workers in West Germany. This readiness is not shown only by Social Democratic and Communist workers. In November 1954 Professor Buckert of Duisburg addressed about one hundred evangelical workers in the copper foundries and other factories at Hochfeld. He assured the workers that a large proportion of the evangelic pastors in the Rhineland are firmly opposed to conscription and these Christian workers declared their solidarity with their pastors.

New forms of propaganda are being developed by the workers of West Germany to show their protest against Adenauer's war policy and to convince those who are still undecided. In November 1954, a group of young workers performed a short sketch outside the gates of many factories in Munich showing how the militarists can be beaten.

In November and December 1954 many trade union organisations in West Germany announced that they were planning a warning strike against the Paris Agreements. From all parts of the West German Republic there came news that trade union members were demanding a protest march on Bonn in order to warn their Members of Parliament not to ratify the Paris Agreements.

West German Youth in Action

The youth of West Germany play a leading part in the popular opposition to the Paris Agreements. They defend strongly their peaceful life since they know that a restoration of the militarists to power would mean deadly danger for millions of young people.

These young people remember the horrors of the Second World War. They were either thrown themselves into battle by the Hitlerite generals or they experienced the conscription of their older brothers and friends. They still remember how their mothers cried when news came of the death of their fathers.

These young people also remember the ruins, the hunger and the cold in the first post war years. For them war and the post war period meant no school, the black market and no proper work. Many of them only know their father from a picture showing him as a soldier in the nazi Wehrmacht.

The young people regard the Paris treaties as a new instalment of a frightful past. They see that arrogant Hitlerite generals and SS officers want to get a hold on them again. Their resistance to all this has scarcely any parallel in German history. To-day hundreds of thousands of young people of varying political opinions are opposing militarism in the same spirit as it was opposed nearly fifty years ago by one individual, Karl Liebknecht.

The Free German Youth, the banner bearer of the peace-loving youth of the whole of Germany has been banned in West Germany for years. Thousands of members of this organisation have been batonned down by Adenauer's police and have experienced themselves the West German prisons. By banning this organisation the West German government hoped to prevent the mass of young people from fighting against militarism. The Free German Youth can show with pride that its principles of defending the vital rights of the young generation live on among the youth of West Germany.

On September 25th and 26th 1954 the Federal Youth Conference of the German Trade Union Congress was held in Düsseldorf. This Conference was attended by the delegates of 670,000 young workers. The resolution passed by this Conference unanimously rejected remilitarisation since

"the costs of rearment will have boundless influence on the reunification of Germany in democratic liberty."

Despite the resistance of some leading officials the delegates called for normal relations between West Germany and the German Democratic Republic. The official resolution passed by the Conference stated:

"All political aims, particularly in foreign policy, must be subordinated to the policy of reunification."

These young workers recognised the partitioning of Germany as a danger for the peaceful life of the youth and called courageously for a united, indivisible and democratic Germany. They are ready to defend the personal liberties and democratic rights of the youth of West Germany against remilitarisation.

This Youth Conference was the signal for action by the working youth of West Germany against the partitioning of Germany, against conscription and war preparations and in favour of democratic rights and a happy life for the young people.

At the end of October, shortly after Adenauer had signed the Paris Agreements, the IXth Annual Conference of the Socialist German League of Students was held in Marburg. At this conference the students rejected the "defence contribution". Annoyed at the determination of the students to reject the Paris Agreements the bourgeois newspaper "Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung" stated on November 3rd 1954:

"Have things gone so far that the Federal Government, and above all its leader, are blindly hated in some circles?... The Conferences of the

trade union congress in Dusseldorf and Frankfurt and the Conference of the Socialist Student League have exposed a tension which may lead to an open breach... Rearmament under no circumstances, and reunification under all circumstances — this was the formula which was never openly expressed but which lay in the air."

The Socialist youth organisation "The Falcons" and the Congress of "Nature Friends" in Oberlinghausen passed resolutions against remilitarisation. The youth organisation of the Evangelical Church demanded that "the formation of a Wehrmacht should be postponed until all possibilities of negotiation and understanding had been exhausted."

After all these actions Chancellor Adenauer, made uneasy by this rejection of his war policy, decided to launch an offensive to break the resistance shown by youth.

Adenauer's Offensive against the Youth collapses

Chancellor Adenauer launched his offensive with the aid of nazi officers from the Blank Office. In Cologne a "discussion" was arranged between Count Baudissin from the Blank Office and the young people of Cologne. This was intended as the first of a series of "comradely get-togethers" between Hitlerite officers and the young people of West Germany, in order to win youth support for the new army of aggression.

This first talk was held on November 3rd 1954 in the hall of Cologne Main Railway Station, which was packed with 1500 young people from Cologne. Instead of being an offensive of the War Ministry against the young people it turned into a great offensive of West German youth against the War Ministry. The shorthand account of this meeting shows that the youth launched an all-out attack against the policy of Adenauer and his Hitlerite Generals. Here are some extracts:

Shouts from young people in the hall:

'If the Blank Office thinks the question of whether there should be an army has been decided, it has not been decided for me. I won't join.'

'The 20-year-olds haven't been asked about it. They cannot even vote. But where they have been asked, they said No quite clearly. The Third Youth Congress of the trade unions said "No" in the name of 670,000 young people. I am telling you these future workers, office employees and officials will know how to make themselves felt.'

'The young people have not had a chance to take a decision yet and you simply say, everything is decided. You say you are not here to answer political questions, but only to talk about how things should be done. I am telling you that nothing has been decided yet. There is also such a thing as coexistence, as living peacefully next to each other.'

'We don't want the old Nazi generals to train us again. Do we have to be handed over to those who plunged us into disaster?'

Graf Baudissin:

'Do you not think it possible to find a number of human and politically sound officers from a total of 1400 generals?'

Many voices from the hall:

'No. Think of Kesselring.'

'Why chatter about a new spirit?'

'The people of 1945 are just waiting to get a new job. These failures (loud cheers) are a threat to democracy.'

'We do not want to be cannon fodder again.'

'We are expected to pick the chestnuts out of the fire.'

A young conscientious objector asks:

'I should like to ask what about Article 4 of the Constitution which says "Nobody may be forced to do military service with arms against his conscience"?'

Graf Baudissin:

'We recognise the conflict of conscience... We shall always show real tolerance in the case of a real conflict of conscience. Those who would rather be put up against the wall and shot...'

Shout from the hall:

'Aha, they will be put against the wall.'

Graf Baudissin:

'Those who in general will not kill...' (Baudissin is shouted down).

Shouts from the hall:

'Who wants to kill at all? None of us, and we hope that you do not want to either.'

'What Court will you be brought before some day, you officers?'

'A "defence army" can also be used for an offensive. This army is therefore a threat. By forming this army we threaten our neighbours. I cannot do this conscientiously.'

Graf Baudissin:

'Do you not feel threatened?'

'No, not in the slightest.'

Graf Baudissin:

'The Parliament that we elected has decided... the politicians whom you yourself elected.'

Shouts from the hall:

'On September 6th 1953 the 20-year-olds could not vote and even those who could vote did not vote for rearmament. Just because I am worried about liberty, I am against West German forces, because if an atomic bomb explodes in Frankfurt, there won't be any liberty in Cologne. Dead men are neither free nor unfree, they are just dead.'

'We weren't asked.'

'If there are elections again, our government would look different; who knew all this in 1953?'

'We are allowed to be soldiers but not allowed to vote.'

'I shall tell you why I don't want to be a soldier. My whole family was at the front in the last war, a brother, a brother-in-law, a cousin. What happened? My brother-in-law came home with only one arm, my brother with malaria and my cousin did not come back at all. Our family is bombed out. I lost my parents in a bombing attack. Now I asked why I should go to the front. I can't protect my family because my parents are dead, my family is dead. I had to work hard to earn the bare necessities and I am glad that I have been able to buy myself again a suit and a shirt. I don't want to defend those, who, after the war will go riding past me in cars costing 30,000 marks.' (stormy applause).

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This was no "discussion" between youth and militarists, it was a thunderous rejection by the youth of hated militarism, a rejection which could not be ignored by world public opinion. War Minister Blank had lost his first battle.

Chancellor Adenauer wished to wipe out his defeat in Cologne and sent his recruiting officers to speak in the "Frankfurt Seminary for Politics". They hoped to be greeted by an academic atmosphere here, but just to be prepared they took plenty of police with them.

The result of the discussion was the same as in Cologne. On November 17th 1954 the "Frankfurter Rundschau" reported:

"It is perhaps a symptom that a discussion on the armed contribution can only be held under police protection... The atmosphere in the hall was like a valve which can no longer stand the pressure."

Thus the second attempt of the War Ministry to launch an offensive in favour of remilitarisation was beaten back by the youth.

A third attempt was made by a representative of the War Ministry who travelled to Wattenscheid to address 200 young Christians. The selection of this audience was an attempt to split the youth. The theme of the meeting was "human values in the barracks". An attempt by the recruiting officer to make a distinction between Hitlerite militarism and Adenauer militarism. The representative of the War Ministry repeatedly stated that

good religious care would be given in the barracks of the new army, but all the 200 young Christians rejected these "religious barracks" and one of the audience interrupted the officer with the words:

"If I am torn to pieces by an atomic bomb then an army padre won't help me".

After the defeat of the third offensive of the recruiting officers War Minister Blank himself entered the fray. Here is a report from Nuremberg on his first meeting held on November 22nd 1954:

"The biggest defeat hitherto suffered by Blank in his campaign for re-militarisation was provided yesterday evening by the youth of Nuremberg at a meeting of the Christian Democratic Union. About 3500 persons attended the meeting. From the very first moment Blank was unable to say a word. For 40 minutes he was met with whistling and shouts. The Nuremberg Messehall was in a turmoil. The Nuremberg Police President Leo Stahl put 150 police into action against the audience and had parts of the hall cleared. About 25 persons were arrested.

Blank watched this police action with malicious pleasure. He stated: 'We shall show these rowdies how necessary my work is'. Some members of the audience asked the Christian Democratic Chairman to allow Stuart Morris, the representative of the British Peace Pledge Union, to speak, but permission was refused. Blank said that such a movement could not be allowed to grow up in Germany. His further remarks were repeatedly interrupted by shouts such as 'Down on your face' or 'Take cover'. Blank threatened the hecklers that he would see to it that they were disciplined at the right time. After the meeting had ended, members of the audience who had put on paper helmets sang the socialist song 'Brüder zur Sonne, zur Freiheit'."

But the War Minister did not admit his defeat. On November 24th 1954 he tried again in Augsburg, which only a few months earlier had been one of the main centres of the great strike of Bavarian metal workers. Here he was met by a wave of hatred unparalleled in the experience of any former German War Minister. The American News Agency AP reported:

"Blank, the Security Commissioner of the Federal Republic, was attacked on Wednesday evening when leaving an Augsburg hall. According to eye-witnesses Blank had to be dragged bodily by nineteen uniformed police through the great crowd in the hall, and during this process he was hit over the head. In addition he was wounded under the right ear by a blow from a beer glass or lemonade bottle. Before this he had been shouted down by a crowd of about 500 as he attempted to speak at a demonstration. A big crowd had also assembled outside the hall, and finally stormed the entrance."

The Associated Press report neglects to mention that Blank was struck by a crutch wielded by a man crippled in the last war. ("Süddeutsche Zeitung", November 25th 1954).

Thus Blank had experienced an even greater defeat than his officers had experienced in Cologne, Frankfurt and Wattenscheid. Blank was forced to cancel further meetings already fixed for "reasons of health". Young people quite rightly regard Blank as the "whipper-in" for Adenauer's war policy, a man who believes that the Paris Agreements will give him a free hand to dispose over the lives of millions of young men in West Germany. The defeat suffered by Blank and his recruiting officers were obvious defeats for Adenauer.

The American magazine "US News and World Report" stated in great alarm on November 26th 1954:

"Thousands of young, draft-age Germans want no part of any new German army and are not mincing any words about it. Defence officials, working up organisation charts for 12 divisions, are beginning to foresee trouble in finding the needed manpower."

The youth of West Germany do not intend to allow themselves to be used as "manpower potential". They continually find new ways of announcing their protest. On November 20th 1954 there were big youth demonstrations in Munich and Augsburg. Thousands of young people paraded through the streets in lorries and on bicycles singing youth songs and shouting anti-militarist slogans. One of the lorries was decorated with posters stating:

"Grandpa wore the Kaiser's uniform: Father wore the Fuehrer's tunic: I like civvies".

The bicyclists carried posters with such slogans as these:

"I will work well but not carry a gun."

"I want to be trained in a factory, not in barracks."

"I want to be a technician, not a soldier."

The "Süddeutsche Zeitung" commented on November 22nd:

"Now that the ratification of the Paris Agreements (and the formation of a German Army) is imminent, it is seen what a great wave of inner rejection of rearmament is working. It is seen to what a small degree we can reckon with positive readiness, let alone enthusiasm, amongst those affected, that is to say the future soldiers."

On December 5th 1954 a great demonstration against the Paris Agreements and conscription was held in the Municipal Hall in Solingen. This demonstration was summoned by the trade union youth, the Social Democratic youth, the Association of European Youth, the German Youth Community, the Nature Friends, the YMCA, the International League of Friendship, the Free Social Union, the All German People's Party and the Protestant clergyman Flammersfeld. A representative of the Blank Office and the Christian Democratic Member of Parliament Fritz Hellwig were invited to attend the meeting but they did not appear.

At this meeting a spokesman of the trade union youth declared that the young workers in the Rhine and Ruhr districts gave their unqualified support to the decisions of the Youth Congress of the West German trade union congress, and that they rejected all remilitarisation. The meeting demanded negotiations instead of remilitarisation and passed a resolution attacking the ratification of the Paris Agreements and calling upon young people in other towns to organise similar demonstrations.

In all parts of West Germany there were similar actions by young people. All reports show that the young people of the different organisations and those who are unorganised are agreed on one fact: that the Paris Agreements should be rejected and that a united, peace-loving and democratic Germany should be formed which would guarantee all young people a life of happiness and prosperity.

All sections of the Population in Opposition

The great wave of opposition against the remilitarisation of West Germany is by no means confined to the workers and youth organisations. A large number of genuine patriots from the middle classes and from church circles realise what the results of a war policy would be and raise their voices for a policy of understanding.

One of the outstanding personalities in this field is Dr. Josef Wirth, one time Chancellor during the Weimar Republic, who has organised a movement of progressive middle class elements under the title "League of Germans" which fights in the political arena against remilitarisation.

Other well known personalities have shown the same true patriotism by making a public statement at an International Congress for the Peaceful Solution of the German Question, in which they opposed rearmament because it

"hinders the reunification of Germany and contributes to a rebirth of militarism an methods of force, thus threatening the peace and the security of all European nations."

This declaration was signed by the following persons:

Dr. Martin Niemöller, Evangelical Church President in Hesse;
Dr. Josef Wirth, former Reich Chancellor, Freiburg;
Wilhelm Elfes, former Lord Mayor, München-Gladbach;
Klara-Maria Fassbinder, Professor, Bonn-Duisburg;
Josef Emonds, Deacon, Euskirchen/Rhine;
Johannes Tralow, author, Gauting near Munich;
Dr. Hans Textor, textile merchant, Mindelheim/Schwaben;
Dr. Edwin Hennig, professor, Tübingen;
Hans Wirtz, author, Freiburg;
Dr. Constantin Beck, financial expert, Stuttgart;
Dr. Ewald Rudolf, lawyer, Munich;
Dr. Walter Kucher, ethnologist, Ansbach;

Elisabeth Burgstaller, clergyman's wife, Bremerhaven;
Manfred von Brauchitsch, racing motorist, Starnberg;
Erwin Eckert, Member of Provincial Parliament, Stuttgart;
Erna Becker-Kahns, sculptress, Münster;
Helene Tröger, singing teacher, Hamburg.

A large group of Evangelical pastors in West Germany addressed an "open letter" to all members of the Council of the Evangelical Church in West Germany, drawing their attention to the great dangers presented by the Paris Agreements. This letter which was published on November 15th 1954 stated:

"We address the urgent request to all responsible persons in our church to speak clearly at the last minute and not to give their approval by their silence to what is being done in West Germany against Germany and against the peace of the world without respect for the people.

A negative rejection means a rearmament in two parts but a positive rejection entails:

1. The renewal of the request to the four Occupation Powers to work in the direction of negotiations on the peaceful reunification of Germany and thus the relaxation of tension in the world, and seriously to work for a solution acceptable on all sides.
2. The request to the Government of the Federal Republic to start simultaneous inner-German negotiations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic. A Church which supports the 'Barmen Declaration' must oppose the idea that political opinions are more mighty than God; it must find it unbearable that the name of God in Jesus Christ is repeatedly misused for the ends of power politics, something which must bring down the wrath of God.
3. A declaration in unmistakable terms that the Council of the Evangelical Church will support its statement frequently made in the past that it will extend protection and help to those who refuse military service."

The "open letter" was signed by the following pastors:

Sauer, Heisenheim; Weimar, Offenbach/Main; Vollrath, Giessen; Tiedke, Frankfurt/Main; Grisshammer, Hitzkirchen; Konradi, Ewersbach; Eitel, Oppenheim/Rhine; Goethe, Offenheim/Rhine; Pélissier, Frankfurt/Main; Farr, Alzey; Bormann, Rüsselsheim; Felsch, Offenbach/Main; Georg Brandt, Offenbach/Main; Ernst Friedrich, Frankfurt/Main; Max Rudolf Weber, Spandlingen/Main.

Dr. Heinemann, the Chairman of the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Germany, based himself upon this "open letter" in calling on December 1st 1954 for a joint all-German action against Dr. Adenauer's policy. Writing in the bi-monthly organ of the "Bekennende Kirche", the "Stimme der Gemeinde" he stated:

"The ratification of the new Paris Agreements must be stopped. Otherwise we shall have no further chance to get out of the blind alley and to prevent a deepening of partition.

The opposition against Dr. Adenauer's unilateral Western policy is many-sided. When will there be an all-German action, including all those forces which belong together in the framework of a free order? The trade union congress has announced its position, the students did the same at Heidelberg, pastors have done it Leverkusen and in other places and young people continually announce their position in meetings and discussions etc. There is no coordination however. The critics of Adenauer's policy have not come together because of party limitations, or isolation, or fear of defamation.

The goal for an all-German action must be the immediate restoration of German unity; the participation of Germany as an equal partner in a Collective Security Pact for Europe; priority for the policy of German reunification over a unilateral militarist Western policy; participation of the whole of Germany in the political and economic unification of an independent Europe."

This appeal issued by Dr. Heinemann, Chairman of the Evangelical Church in Germany, brought a response from many pastors in West Germany and led 300 Evangelical pastors to sign a letter addressed to the members of the West German Parliament. This appeal called upon the Members of Parliament to turn their faces from the remilitarisation of West Germany and to take the part of peaceful reunification.

The West German Parliament was unable simply to ignore this appeal signed by 300 pastors. A spokesman of the Christian Democratic Union rejected the pastors' appeal with the remark that the Church "should not interfere in politics", although in the Bavarian elections the Catholic Church gave its official support to Adenauer's policy. The war party in Bonn thus showed what it regarded as intervention in politics: if a pastor preaches in favour of a restoration of militarism that is no intervention in politics; if 300 pastors appeal for the lives of their flocks and for the maintenance of peace, then that is an intervention in politics.

The Christian Democratic Party flatly rejected all these requests from church circles but on the second day of the debate in the West German Parliament on the Paris Agreements (December 16th 1954) 61 West German personalities also directed a letter to all Members of Parliament calling for the rejection of the Paris Agreements. These personalities, members of all parties represented in the Federal Parliament, and including both Protestants and Catholics, stated:

"A continuation of the Western tactic of negotiating only from a position of military strength, even if only on the basis of military agreements which have been ratified and not yet put into effect, has interrupted the tendency towards international understanding. This has sharpened again the tension between the world blocks, has increased the danger of a

third world war, and has again lessened the prospects of German reunification. It is a threat to the disarmament talks which have begun in the United Nations . . .

It is certain that the remilitarisation of the Federal Republic will finalise and petrify the partitioning of Germany . . .

The announcement that a re-united Germany would be integrated in the Community of (little) Europe through Article 7 paragraph 2 of the new Bonn Convention, as the joint aim of the West, is a bar to reunification. This condition stands in obvious contradiction to the Western claim that they want reunification . . .

The hope that reunification can be forced through civil war or the threat of a civil war is a false hope. It is nonsensical and immoral . . .

Youth has the right to demand that the older generation which bears responsibility for the past, should extend its protection. The attempt to turn them into soldiers by bluffing them with ideals which have become unreal and by war aims which are unattainable must be regarded as a detestable and cynical subornation . . .

In the name of political sense we beg you from sorrowful experience to refuse to ratify the Paris Agreements or at least to postpone such ratification until all possibilities have been explored to reach an understanding with the East by means of conferences with the East and diplomatic methods, and in addition to examine very closely whether the Paris Agreements can constitutionally be reconciled with the Basic Law. In this direction we beg you to use your entire influence and the rights of your Office for the following:

1. The immediate cooperation between the two partial states in Germany in all fields of cultural and economic life without paying too much attention to the apparent degree of sovereignty claimed by both sides.
2. The immediate commencement of negotiations on the part of the Occupation Powers on the re-creation of a democratic German legal state guaranteed by multilateral treaties.
3. The immediate participation in all measures which are calculated to reduce the unhealthy influence of fear and power in politics . . ."

This appeal was signed by the following persons:

Pastor Hermann Sauer, Geisenheim/Rhine;

Pastor Lothar Ahne, Essen;

Rectoress Thea Arnold, Member of the 1st West German Parliament,
Dusseldorf;

Pastor Konrad Barner, Herne;

Professor Joachim Beckmann, Church Counsellor, Dusseldorf;

Pastor Robert Berger, Frankfurt;

Pastor Bernecker, Wuppertal;

E. Boué, Church Counsellor, Dusseldorf;

D. H. Dörr, pharmaceutical scientist, Refrath near Bensberg;

Dr. Josef E. Drexel, publisher, Nuremberg;
Dr. Freiherr von Dobeneck, chemist, Wuppertal;
Dr. Gajus Clodius, author, Blumenthal/Eifel;
Pastor Hans Decke-Cornill, Herne;
Pastor Enders-Comberg, Frankfurt;
Dr. Hermann Etzel, Member of the 1st West German Parliament,
Bamberg;
Dr. Joachim Fellhaber, doctor, Cologne;
Peter Fischer, journalist, Cologne;
Hildegard Fehlhaber, teacher, Cologne;
Pastor Fresenius, Frankfurt;
Pastor Hans Geilenberg, Wuppertal;
Professor Johannes Harder, Wuppertal;
Pastor Alfred Hartmann, Herne;
Gerhard Helgen, architect and retired Lieutenant Colonel,
Siegen/Westphalia;
Dr. Werner Otto von Hentig, retired Ambassador,
Hinterzarten/Black Forest;
A. Werbelsheimer, publisher, Euskirchen;
Professor Johannes Hessen, Cologne;
Professor D. R. Hupfeld, Heidelberg;
Dr. Hans Iwand, Professor of Theology, Bonn;
Professor Guido Hoeisel, Cologne;
Irmgard Keun, authoress, Cologne;
Karl Kache, architect;
Dr. Katz, doctor, Iserlohn;
Heinz Kloppenburg, Church Counsellor, Dortmund;
Hans Lipinsky-Gottersdorf, author, Cologne;
Otto Lucas, leather manufacturer, Freudenberg;
Dr. Adolf Leichtle, economist, Kempten/Allgäu;
Rudolf Mittelstrass, chemist, Wuppertal;
Willi Niemand, businessman, Frankfurt;
E. G. Ottens, lawyer, Dusseldorf;
Dr. Karl Rode, professor, Aachen;
Dr. Schneidmadel, Bamberg;
Pastor Konrad Pock, Herne;
Johannes Scherer, factory director, Bensberg;
Marlies Stamm, actress, Dusseldorf;
Hans Stein, Dusseldorf;
Peter Thoma, art dealer, Cologne;
Hans Surholt, lawyer, Aachen;
Professor Karl Stoevesandt, Bremen;
K. Thurau, director, Andernach;
Kurt von Wecus, economist, Hamm;
Professor D. E. Wolf, Göttingen;
Dr. Otto Wagener, retired Major General, Krefeld;
Professor Hermann Weyland, Cologne;
Count Karl von Westfalen, Etgendorf;

Church President D. Wilm, Bielefeld;
W. Zimmer, architect, Bamberg;
Pastor Hans Erich Hess, Church Counsellor, Wiesbaden;
Dr. Hajo Riesser, German Secretary of the "Mouvement Chrétien pour la Paix", Oberursel;
Dr. von Wunsch, retired state attorney, Frankfurt/Main;
Otto Suppert, merchant, Dortmund.

The Crisis in Adenauer's Coalition

The growing dissatisfaction of the West German population with Adenauer's policy and the growing resistance against the Paris Agreements has led to a new tension inside Adenauer's coalition. The main point of dispute is the Saar Agreement concluded by Chancellor Adenauer. At the end of 1954 Chancellor Adenauer was forced to cancel a trip to America in order to keep control over his coalition government.

Before he signed the Paris Agreements Chancellor Adenauer summoned the leaders of the coalition parties to Paris in order to give the impression that he was acting with the full agreement of the parties which form the majority in the West German Parliament. According to a statement made by Thomas Dehler, Chairman of the Free Democratic Party, Adenauer misled the representatives of the coalition parties in order to obtain their agreement to his signature of the treaties. After details of the Paris Agreements had been published, Thomas Dehler rejected Adenauer's claim that he had "given his agreement in Paris" to the Saar agreement.

The Paris Agreements concerning the Saar have also been badly received by leaders of the BHE, the Refugee Party. Minister Theodor Oberländer, under pressure from members of his Party, declared that the BHE could not approve Adenauer's renunciation of the German Saar Territory. Later the Central Board of the BHE discussed the Saar Agreement and Oberländer was able to obtain, by a small majority, the agreement of his colleagues to the Paris Treaties, but with great reservations in the Saar question. In order to obtain their support Adenauer was forced to promise the leaders of the BHE further posts in his coalition government.

On November 19th 1954 when Chancellor Adenauer attempted to obtain the approval of his Cabinet for the Paris Agreements, in order to present a united front of the coalition parties in the elections in Bavaria and Hesse, there were further disputes on the Saar question. The West Berlin newspaper "Telegraf" published on November 20th 1954 this report on the Cabinet meeting:

"Chancellor Adenauer obtained the agreement of the Federal Cabinet to the ratification law on the Saar Statute with practically a majority of only one vote. Minister Jakob Kaiser of the Christian Democratic Union and the members of the Cabinet who belong to the Free Democratic Party — Deputy Chancellor Blücher and Ministers Neumayer, Preusker

and Schäfer — completely rejected the treaty. Ministers Hellwege and Seeböhm of the German Party announced four objections to the Treaty and Ministers Kraft and Oberländer of the BHE announced eleven objections."

Adenauer thus retained the majority in his own Cabinet only with his own vote. On October 26th, three days after the signature of the Paris Agreements, the "Frankfurter Rundschau" stated:

"Chancellor Adenauer has agreed to a solution of the Saar problem which contradicts all decisions hitherto taken by the Federal Parliament and which also contradicts the Seven-Point-Programme agreed in Paris by the leaders of the fractions of all parties, including the opposition . . ."

On November 2nd 1954 the Hamburg newspaper "Die Welt" which supports Adenauer, was forced to admit:

"The Cabinet is split as never before."

The West Berlin newspaper "Der Tag" a newspaper of the Christian Democratic Union, published on November 3rd an article under the heading "Difficult Tasks for Adenauer" stating that the Bonn Coalition was going through a time of crisis as a result of the agreements made by Adenauer in Paris.

In order to compel the obedience of his partners in the Coalition Adenauer induced von Brentano, Christian Democratic Union Fraction leader in the West German Parliament, to declare that the Christian Democratic Union would "make full use of its majority in the Federal Parliament" in order to force through the Paris Agreements. It is interesting to note that, despite this, less than half the members of the West German Parliament, only 236 from a total of 487 voted for the Paris Agreements in the first reading on December 15th and 16th 1954. 95 deputies left the Chamber so that they would not have to take part in the vote. A number of Free Democrats voted against the Agreements.

Dr. Reinhold Meier, a democratically-inclined Member of the Free Democratic Fraction in Parliament, gave a clear answer at a meeting in Munich on November 8th to the manoeuvres by the Christian Democratic Union to intimidate their coalition partners. He said that it was the great task of all parties in West Germany to convert the Federal Parliament

"into a real representation of the people, which no longer consists of coalition slaves and fraction puppets. Otherwise we shall inevitably convert the Federal Parliament into the 'one voice choir' of the Third Reich."

This is exactly what Adenauer wishes to achieve through his pressure on the coalition parties, and this is an expression of the inner weakness of his regime.

All these facts, the resistance of the Social Democratic, Communist, and unorganised workers, the resistance of youth, craftsmen, cultural work-

ers and pastors in West Germany shows that the contradiction between Adenauer's American policy of remilitarisation and the wishes of the majority of the population for peaceful reunification is daily growing. Adenauer is acting against the wishes of the people in his attempt to subjugate West Germany to the militarist regime of the Paris Agreements. He has no right to speak in the name of Germany. The German people, however, have the right to use all means to prevent the remilitarisation of West Germany.

VII.

A Time of Decision

The Paris Agreements prevent a peaceful and democratic solution of the vital questions affecting the German nation. The creation of an Army in West Germany lusting for revenge, and the integration of West Germany in the aggressive military grouping of a few West European states, directed against the other states of Europe, is a blow against the peaceful reunification of Germany and against European understanding.

The ratification and putting into effect of the Paris Agreements would mean an indefinite postponement of the peaceful reunification of Germany. The partitioning of Germany would be petrified and as Adenauer himself stated a wall would be constructed through Germany. There would be a great danger that the reunification of Germany and the creation of a united, democratic, independent and peace-loving Germany would be made altogether impossible. There would be a great danger that a war launched by the West German imperialists together with the aggressive imperialist forces of the Western Powers would destroy in a most horrible fashion all the hopes of the Germans for a peaceful solution of the vital question of the nation.

The consequence of putting the Paris Agreements into effect would not be the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis, and thus the guarantee for the development of Germany as one of the Great Powers. The joint declaration issued by the Moscow Conference of European Countries to Secure Peace and Security in Europe warned that putting the Paris Agreements into effect would mean a new war and the conversion of West Germany into a zone of fire and destruction.

By choosing the Paris Agreements, on the orders of the West German militarists and imperialists, Adenauer's government has finally abandoned the cause of the peaceful reunification of Germany and peaceful development, and has based its entire policy on the "policy of strength" directed at the preparation and unleashing of a Third World War. If the Paris Agreements are ratified no nation of the world will be able to regard the West German Republic as a peace-loving state which endeavours to solve by peaceful means the disputed questions affecting Germany. The ratification of the Paris Agreements would mean the conversion of West Germany into a state which regards the unleashing of a war of aggression as its main

aim, in the same way as did the Germany of the Kaiser and Hitler. For this purpose the West German state would have formed a coalition with the aggressive imperialists of other countries, and all these imperialists would encourage each other in the commission of acts of aggression.

The militarist West German state, lustng for revenge, is therefore not only a deadly danger to the national and physical existence of the Germans, but is also a great danger to the security and national existence of the other peoples of Europe and to European peace. It would be, like the Germany of the Kaiser and Hitler, a lasting threat to the national independence of the European nations and to the peace of Europe and the world.

To camouflage the true aims and the war-like character of the Paris Agreements, the supporters of these treaties declare that the ratification of the Paris Agreements will "provide the basis" for a peaceful reunification of Germany, for an understanding between the Four Great Powers, for a relaxation of international tension and for the creation of European security. The preceding chapters of this book have shown clearly the hypocritical nature of this manoeuvre.

It has been shown in this book:

The rearmament of the aggressive West German militarists and imperialists cannot be reconciled with peaceful reunification of Germany and this rearmament is being undertaken for the purpose of aggression against the German Democratic Republic and other European states.

It has been shown in this book:

The creation of an aggressive West German army headed by former West German generals cannot be reconciled with the holding of all-German free and democratic elections, and that it is aimed at the suppression and removal of all democratic rights and the erection of a military dictatorship.

It has been shown in this book:

that the rebirth of German militarism and its inclusion in the military block formed by the aggressive circle of the United States, Britain and France will make impossible the peaceful solution of the national German question and will hinder a Four Power Agreement on the restoration of German unity and sovereignty and the conclusion of a peace treaty: it will dangerously increase tensions in the European situation, prevent the establishment of a genuine European Security System, and greatly increase the danger of a new world war.

Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, declared at the Moscow Conference of European States to secure Peace and Security in Europe:

"When the Bonn Government declares 'first ratify and then negotiate' it thus bars the way to negotiation and understanding and chooses the path of war. This is the Hitlerite tactic of blackmail through the creation

of 'faits accomplis'. If no success is obtained with this tactic, and it will not lead to success, then we shall hear the slogan 'first arm and then negotiate' and finally 'first war and then forced capitulation'. When Hitlerite Germany used this method it led to the unconditional capitulation of Hitlerite Germany itself."

The Paris Agreements can therefore not be reconciled with the national, democratic and peaceable interests of the Germans.

The Paris Agreements threaten terrible consequences for Germany; the Government of the German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, has shown the peaceful way to the solution of the German problem.

Since two German states exist to-day on German soil the nation can only be reunified on the basis of mutual understanding, which demands the greatest readiness by both sides to make compromises and concessions. Any attempt by one of these states to force its will on the other, to force it to accept the other state and social order can never lead to peaceful reunification, but only to a civil war, a war of German against German which would very soon develop into a European war. An understanding between the two states in Germany must therefore be the starting point for peaceful reunification.

For this reason the German Democratic Republic does not think of extending its own social and state order to West Germany or to make it a condition for the reunification of Germany. In the same way the West German Parliament and Government will have to abandon their ideas of imposing the West German social and state order on the German Democratic Republic as a pre-condition for reunification. The understanding between the two states in Germany can only be reached on a democratic and peaceful basis.

This understanding must not be delayed any longer. The longer it lasts until even the first steps are taken, the more difficult they will become and the deeper the split between the two states will grow. For this reason both German states must subordinate all other questions to the question of peaceful reunification.

The ratification of the Paris Agreements which will restore militarism in West Germany and which will partition Germany for an indefinite period by integrating West Germany in the aggressive NATO alliance, is an attempt to make it impossible to solve the German problem by means of negotiation. The abandonment of the Paris Agreements is thus the essential pre-condition for practical measures to reach an understanding and German reunification.

If the Paris Agreements are abandoned it will be possible for representatives of the two German states to begin immediate negotiations on the preparation and the holding of general, equal, secret, direct and free all-German elections. The road will be free for an understanding between Germans in the East and the West on all the vital questions of the nation which must be solved in the first place by the Germans them-

selves. In particular it would be possible to reach immediately agreement between the two parts of Germany on questions in the economic, social and cultural field which would aid reunification. Agreement on police forces could also be reached on the basis of the repeated proposals made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic that there should be negotiations on the strength, the stationing and the armament of all types of police in East and in West Germany.

There is not a single question which the German Democratic Republic would not be ready to discuss with the representatives of the West German Federal Republic; any proposals made by West Germany would be seriously considered by the German Democratic Republic. The Government of the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly expressed its readiness to discuss all questions with the other German state.

Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl, speaking in the name of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, repeated this offer at the Conference of European Countries to Secure Peace and Security in Europe. He stated:

"Certain circles in West Germany are in error when they declare that the differences in the political and economic order in the two parts of Germany would make a reunification impossible. The Government of the German Democratic Republic is of the opinion that it is possible to begin to-day with a broad exchange of experiences between the state organs and the trade unions and other mass organisations on particular questions of economic life, the preparation of a common currency, questions of labour and social legislation and care and development of German culture."

The main reason why the Four Great Powers have not yet reached an understanding on the German question, and why the Western Powers have rejected all Soviet proposals for the withdrawal of occupation troops and the working out of a peace treaty is that hitherto there has been no understanding between the Germans themselves in East and West.

If there had been such an understanding or even the beginnings of such an understanding, and if the two German states had agreed on negotiations for the withdrawal of occupation troops and the drafting of a peace treaty, then certainly this understanding between the Germans would have led to an understanding between the Four Great Powers on the solution of the German problem. Until now however the Western Powers have always been able to base themselves upon the attitude of the West German Government in rejecting all constructive proposals made by the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of occupation troops and the drafting of a peace treaty. The Western Powers have done this in order to make it possible to restore militarism in West Germany and to integrate West Germany in an aggressive military alliance, earlier in the form of the EDC and to-day through the Paris Agreements.

The ratification of the Paris Agreements would close the door upon attempts to reach a peaceful reunification of Germany. It is therefore

necessary that the two German states agree as soon as possible to demand from the Four Great Powers the immediate resumption of negotiations on Germany, negotiations in which representatives of the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic should participate. Both states in Germany should join in proposing to the Four Great Powers negotiations on the restoration of German unity on a peaceful and democratic basis, all-German free elections, the withdrawal of occupation troops from East and West Germany, and the drafting of a peace treaty. Representatives of both parts of Germany should participate with equal rights in the drafting of a peace treaty.

If it is objected that negotiations between the two German states are difficult, and that there is no guarantee that a demand made by both German states for new Four Power negotiation on the restoration of German unity would lead to a speedy success, and that thus there would be no change in the present situation in Germany, it is necessary to give the reply that all such hindrances would be rapidly removed, if both parts of Germany took joint decisive action to change the situation in Germany in the direction of reunification. In the final analysis the Germans themselves have to decide, whether Germany remains partitioned or not, whether there is a peaceful reunification or not. No power on earth can force the Germans to oppose each other or shoot at each other, if the Germans themselves do not wish to do this and if they take action to achieve peaceful reunification.

Even if it should not be possible to overcome quickly the obstacles to an understanding between East Germany and West Germany and the Four Great Powers, and if this made it necessary for the regrettable existence of two German states to continue for a further period, this would be much preferable to the ratification and putting into effect of the Paris Agreements. The rejection of the Paris Agreements, alone, would be a step towards the relaxation of tension and would be a precondition for a rapprochement between the two states in Germany. In the present situation the door for a peaceful reunification of Germany is still open, but the ratification and realisation of the Paris Agreements would slam this door shut.

Anyone who is really interested in the peaceful reunification of Germany must reject all plans for the remilitarisation of West Germany and its integration in military groupings, since this is the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Germany on a democratic basis. Peaceful reunification and the Paris Agreements are mutually exclusive.

The supporters of the Paris Agreements often claim that there is no alternative to their policy. They state that West Germany must be rearmed and integrated in the Western Military Block, since it would otherwise be "defenceless" and "isolated" in the face of a possible attack. These people claim that the "security" of West Germany and West Europe is involved.

Apart from the fact that West Germany and West Europe are not threatened by anything except this policy of restoring a Hitlerite Wehrmacht, the Soviet Union has made clear proposals offering an effective guarantee against a new aggression in Europe. Before the outbreak of the

Second World War the Soviet Union consistently supported the principle of collective security in order to control the fascist aggressions, and in the same way the Soviet Union proposed, at the Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference in February 1954, an All-European System of Collective Security in order to prevent a new aggression. In its proposals the Soviet Union based itself upon the fact that real security can only be guaranteed in Europe by a security system including all European states, without respect for their social and state order, and not by military groupings of certain European states directed against other states.

The "Basic Principles Of A General European Treaty On Collective Security In Europe" proposed by the Soviet Union at the Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference on February 10th 1954, stated in paragraph 2, 3 and 4:

"The parties to the treaty undertake to refrain from aggression against one another and also to refrain from having recourse to the threat or the use of force in their international relations and, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to settle by peaceful means and in such a way as not to endanger international peace and security in Europe any dispute that may arise among them.

Whenever, in the view of any parties of the treaty, there is danger of an armed attack in Europe against one or more of the parties to the treaty, the latter shall consult each other in order to take effective steps to remove the danger and to maintain security in Europe.

An armed attack in Europe against one or more of the parties to the treaty by any state or group of states shall be deemed to be an attack against all the parties. In the event of such an attack, each of the parties, exercising the right of individual or collective self-defence, shall assist the state or states so attacked by all the means at its disposal, including the use of armed force, for the purpose of reestablishing and maintaining international peace and security in Europe."

Paragraph 1 of the draft treaty stated:

"Until the formation of a united, peace-loving, democratic German state, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic may be parties to the treaty enjoying equal rights with other parties thereto. It is understood that after the unification of Germany the united German state may become a party to the treaty on an equal footing with any other European state."

In order to avoid the great danger represented by the remilitarisation of West Germany and its integration in a unilateral military grouping, the Soviet Union addressed on November 13th 1954, an invitation to all European nations and to the USA to meet on November 29th 1954 in a Conference of European nations to discuss such a pact for European Collective Security.

However, the same circles which opposed collective security before the Second World War and thus assisted Hitlerite aggression, those circles which to-day inspire the Paris Agreements, refused to participate in this

conference. They thus proved that they had no interest in a real alternative to their plan, but that they wished to press ahead under all circumstances with the remilitarisation of West Germany and to prevent peaceful reunification. At the same time their rejection of a real system of collective security showed, firstly, that they did not believe themselves in the alleged "aggressive plans" of the Soviet Union, since otherwise they would be interested in such a pact directed against all aggressors; and they showed secondly that they themselves had aggressive intentions since otherwise they would not be opposed to such a pact guaranteeing security to all states which were threatened.

On November 29th 1954 the Conference of European countries to Ensure Peace and Security met in Moscow, but without the participation of the Western European states which had been put under pressure by the American imperialists. The governments of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Albanian People's Republic issued a joint declaration stating that they viewed the settlement of the German problem as the main task in ensuring peace in Europe. The official statement issued at this Conference said that for the solution of the German problem the following were above all necessary:

"The renunciation of the plans to remilitarise West Germany and to include it in military groupings; this would remove the main obstacle to the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis; An agreement on the holding of all-German free elections in 1955, and the formation of an All-German Government of a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany on the basis of these elections.

After this the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany will finally become possible, which is necessary for securing peace in Europe."

The Conference thus showed the path which could be taken to remove the danger to Europe represented by the Paris Agreements, and to reach a lasting peace.

If, despite all the efforts made by the Soviet Union, the other peaceful states and the German Democratic Republic for the peaceful reunification of Germany break down, and if the Paris Agreements are ratified against the wishes of the German people, then the German Democratic Republic and the states with which it has friendly relations will have to draw the consequences of the new situation.

At the Moscow Conference Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl made the following declaration in the name of the Government of the German Democratic Republic:

"If militarism is re-established in West Germany and a regular army is raised there, then the German Democratic Republic will be forced to answer these measures by raising national armed forces which will be in a position to protect the peaceful achievements of the working people of the German Democratic Republic . . . Such measures will be in the

national interests of the German people. For this reason the Government delegation of the German Democratic Republic is ready to discuss at this Conference the question of participation in the joint measures of the peace-loving states."

The speeches made by Adenauer and other members of the West German government coalition during the first reading of the Paris Agreements in the West German Parliament showed that the West German militarists have plans for committing aggression against the German Democratic Republic.

The Bonn militarists aim at a civil war of German against German, instead of a peaceful reunification. The West German militarists wish to unleash a new war on German territory instead of peacefully constructing a Germany re-united on a democratic basis. The West German imperialists, by their support for the Paris Agreements, have resumed their traditional role as the organisers and initiators of new bloodshed in Europe, instead of supporting a collective system of security in Europe which would guarantee the national independence and security of all nations. The West German militarists have openly rejected peaceful and friendly relations between a democratic and peace-loving Germany on the one hand and the other nations of Europe on the other hand. Instead of this the West German militarists have announced quite openly their desire to commit acts of aggression against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies, the German Democratic Republic, and any other country which does not obey their orders. As in the first and second world wars, the German militarists intend to use millions of young Germans as cannon fodder in a war of adventure against the nations of Europe.

For the sake of these criminal plans the West German militarists wish to ratify the Paris Agreements and to abandon the peaceful reunification of Germany. For the sake of these plans the West German militarists, through their signature to the Paris Agreements and their entry into NATO abandon German sovereignty and the possibility that Germany should develop into a peaceful Great Power. The West German imperialists and their partners in the Paris Agreements are the mortal enemies of the German nation. Twice in the last forty years the German people have not succeeded in hindering the plans of the German imperialists, and the German people have paid a frightful price for this.

For the third time in history the German people stand to-day at the crossroads and have to decide whether they will allow themselves to be driven by the politicians of revenge into a catastrophe far greater than the catastrophes of the first and second world wars. In case of a new aggression the West German imperialists will be plunged into a devastating defeat. There can be no doubt of this in view of the strength of the states which they intend to attack. But the results of a new aggression would be frightful for the German people and particularly for the people of West Germany.

In the interests of the existence and the peaceful development of Germany, the ratification of the Paris Agreements must be prevented and the

West German militarists must not be allowed to prepare and carry out a new aggression. Any sacrifices made in this fight are small in proportion to the enormous sacrifices which a new war of aggression would bring.

The Soviet Union, the strongest power in the world, supported by the People's Democracies and the mighty Chinese People's Republic hold out the hand of friendship to all peace-loving Germans and support them in their just struggle for the peaceful solution of the national question and against the threatening catastrophe. The peaceful and friendly relationship between the German Democratic Republic and these countries show that friendship and peace and mutual aid on the basis of full equality are both possible and advantageous for the German people. The German Democratic Republic will spare no effort to achieve the reunification of Germany through concessions and compromises in the interest of peace.

The peaceful German state which will be created in this fashion will be independent and sovereign in every respect. No other state will be able to interfere in its internal affairs, to maintain armed forces or military bases on its territory, or force Germany to belong to any military grouping. The independence and security of such a Germany would be guaranteed by a system of European Collective Security such as that proposed by the Government of the Soviet Union.

Such a security system, of which all European states, independent of their social and state order, could be members, and in which Germany would participate with equal rights and equal duties, would make it possible for Germany to maintain friendly and peaceful relations, on a basis of mutual advantage with all nations in the East and the West. The Paris Agreements on the other hand would place West Germany in a position of mortal enmity against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic.

There is still time for the Germans themselves to reach agreement on the holding of all-German free elections in 1955 and the establishment, on the basis of these elections, of the All-German Government of a united, democratic and peaceable Germany. There is still time to prevent Germans from facing Germans with guns in their hands. Everything can still be settled peacefully if the ratification and realisation of the Paris Agreements is prevented and if, in West Germany too, the desire for peaceful understanding is successful.

If, despite all efforts, the Paris Agreements should be ratified, then the German Democratic Republic and the states with which it is allied, will not allow themselves to be surprised by the aggressors. Aggressors will be beaten back and no concessions will be made to them. In this case national armed forces of the German Democratic Republic, together with the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies will take all necessary measures to protect the Republic and all peace-loving peoples in Europe and to destroy every aggressor.

These national armed forces of the German Democratic Republic will protect the cause of all German workers, all German democrats and all German patriots; they will guard the cause of peace.

DECLARATION

of the Conference of European Countries to Ensure Peace and Security in Europe

The representatives of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Albanian People's Republic, with the participation of an observer from the Chinese People's Republic, met at a Conference in Moscow in order to review the situation which had arisen in Europe in connection with the decisions of the London and Paris Conferences of certain European States.

The governments of the States participating in this Conference express their regret that not all European States found it possible to take part in the discussion of the situation thus created. The initiators of the London and Paris Agreements, the USA, France and Great Britain, have also not taken part in this Conference. Their answer dated November 29th showed that they are endeavouring to press through the ratification of the Paris Agreements at all costs.

On October 23rd Agreements affecting West Germany were signed at the Conference in Paris. This had been preceded by a Conference in London of the nine countries: USA, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Canada. These Agreements envisage the remilitarisation of West Germany and its inclusion in military groupings — the North Atlantic Block and the "Western European Union", which has been patched together again.

Quite recently attempts were undertaken to carry out the restoration of German militarism by remilitarising Western Germany under the banner of the notorious "European Defence Community". These attempts have failed, as they met with natural resistance on the part of European peoples and primarily on the part of the French people. Now the restoration of German militarism is being attempted under another banner, whereby everything is done so as to speed up the ratification of the Paris Agreements with this aim.

In such a situation the Governments of the countries participating in the present Conference consider it necessary to draw the attention of all European States to the fact that the realisation of the Paris Agreements will bring about a serious deterioration in the situation in Europe. The realisation of these Agreements will not only create new and still greater obstacles on the road to settling the German problem, on the road to restoring the unity of Germany as a peace-loving and democratic State, but they will oppose one part of Germany to the other part, transforming

West Germany into a dangerous hotbed of a new war in Europe. Instead of furthering the peaceful settlement of the German problem, these agreements give a free rein to the militarists and revenge seekers in West Germany and increase the threat to the security of the European peoples.

The Paris Agreements are in direct contradiction to those possibilities recently revealed for a further easing of tension in international relations. Thanks to the efforts of the peace-loving States, the war in Korea was brought to an end in the middle of the past year. The Geneva Conference this year helped to end the eight-year war in Indochina, and to bring about the well known settlement of the situation in this area. The conclusion cannot be avoided that in the United Nations Organisation there has been a certain progress in the negotiations on the questions of a general limitation of armaments, and the prohibition of atomic weapons. All this has been achieved despite the attitude of the aggressive circles of certain States, aimed at sharpening the international situation.

At the same time the ruling circles in a number of the States concerned with the London and Paris Agreements are steering the dangerous course of re-establishing German militarism without regard for the consequences, just at the moment when the circumstances for adjusting present international problems have improved.

The Paris Agreements envisage the creation of a West German Army 500,000 strong. The number of these West German armed forces is five times the number of the Army permitted at that time for the whole of Germany by the Versailles Peace Treaty, even though it is known that the German Reichswehr, 100,000 strong, created then, was the basis for the establishment of a multi-million Hitlerite Wehrmacht.

Even to-day German militarists do not conceal the fact that they reckon on a further expansion of the West German army, first to twelve, then to thirty and then to sixty divisions. The creation of an army in West Germany will in fact mean its superiority over the armies of the other members of the Western European Union, unavoidably leading to the result that the armed forces at the disposal of the West German militarists will occupy a dominant position in Western Europe.

The danger of the establishment of a West German Army can be seen from the fact that this army would be headed by generals of the former Hitlerite Wehrmacht, who only a short while ago were organisers and participants in the fascist aggression against the nations of East and West Europe.

Contrary to international agreements on the liquidation of the German war potential, war industry is being openly restored in West Germany. Ruhr heavy industry is being switched over to an even greater extent to the production of armaments. It must not be forgotten that the Ruhr itself on more than one occasion constituted the main arsenal where arms were forged for the aggressive wars of the German militarists.

The Paris Agreements also open the way for carrying out atomic research work which would make possible the production of atomic and

hydrogen weapons in West Germany, and the supply of atomic weapons to West Germany by other countries. Under this agreement the West German army receives the possibility of including atomic weapons in its arsenal.

This means that atomic weapons would be placed in the hands of those who in the recent past were creating the bloody Hitlerite "new order", spreading death and destruction in Europe and aiming at the annihilation of whole nations. It was they who destroyed millions of peaceful citizens in death camps — Poles, Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Frenchmen, Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Belgians, Norwegians and others.

That means that atomic weapons would be given into the hands of those who already to-day are announcing their plans for revenge in Europe. Implementation of these agreements will increase the threat of a destructive atomic war with its frightful consequences for the peoples, especially those residing in the most thickly populated areas of Europe.

The speculation that the inclusion of a remilitarised West Germany in the Western European military union will make it possible to confine the growth of German militarism to certain limits is regarded with natural mistrust by the peoples of Europe. Such attempts have been made before, but they failed. It is not possible to secure peace in Europe by giving free rein to the revival of German militarism, simultaneously calming oneself by inventing certain guarantees against it, the ineffectiveness of which are obvious. In order to ensure peace in Europe it is necessary to make impossible the rebirth of German militarism itself.

The remilitarisation of West Germany means that the role and the influence of the militarists and the circles thirsting for revenge will continually increase. The unavoidable result of this position would be a further curtailment of democratic liberties in West Germany and the conversion of West Germany into a militaristic state.

It is characteristic that the Paris Agreements provided no clauses guaranteeing democratic rights for the people of West Germany: on the other hand, however, the Agreements bound the West German Authorities to issue "Emergency Laws" which are obviously aimed against the democratic rights and liberties of the population.

The Paris Agreements, which give new life to German militarism and give the militarists the real power and extraordinary rights, open the road to the creation of a military dictatorship in West Germany. These Agreements are not only foreign to the interests of the German people, they are directly aimed against the German working class and at the suppression of the democratic forces in West Germany. The conditions prescribed for West Germany by the Paris Agreements are in many particulars reminiscent of the situation in Germany shortly before Hitler seized power. It is well known that the right to "declare an emergency" possessed at that time by President Hindenburg, was used by the German militarists to liquidate democratic rights and liberties, to smash the workers' organisations and to establish fascist dictatorship in Germany.

The Paris Agreements speak of the "ending of the occupation regime" and of the granting of a so-called "sovereignty" to West Germany.

In reality however the "sovereignty" for West Germany which is mentioned in the Paris Agreements has the aim of granting to the West German militarists and revenge politicians the right to establish an army, an army which the initiators of the Paris Agreements intend to use as cannon fodder for their own purposes. At the same time the Paris Agreements force upon West Germany the extension until 1998 of the occupation of its territory by the troops of the USA, Great Britain and France, and thus envisage the conversion of West Germany into the main deployment ground for the aggressive aims of the USA in Europe. Under these circumstances it is not difficult to recognise how much the declarations about the alleged "sovereignty" of West Germany are worth, particularly when it is considered that according to the Paris agreements all the main articles of the enslaving Bonn Treaty should remain in force. Despite the statements made by certain Western statesmen it is impossible to consider the Paris Agreements as anything except the practical rejection of a settlement of the German question, a long term renunciation of the restoration of the unity of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis. The plans for remilitarising West Germany and for including it in military groupings are to-day the main obstacle to the national reunification of Germany. This means that the removal of this obstacle would make possible a Four Power Agreement on the restoration of the unity and sovereignty of Germany, and on the holding, for this purpose, of free all-German elections with the proper regard for the interests of the German people.

To establish and arm a West German army, 500,000 strong, will cost, according to the estimates of Bonn politicians, about 100,000 million marks; these costs will fall with full weight on the shoulders of the working people of West Germany, particularly on the shoulders of the working class. This will produce for them a sharp reduction in their standard of living. The only people to reap an advantage from the remilitarisation of West Germany will be the great West German monopolies, and the biggest monopolies of the USA, Great Britain and France which are closely allied with them; these monopolies are already counting upon high profits from the supply of arms to the newly created West German army. These arms dealers have often in the past made a lot of money from wars which brought nothing but immeasurable suffering and privation to the peoples of Europe. To-day the same thing is happening as happened before the Second World War, when German concerns produced the weapons for Hitlerite aggression with the aid and direct participation of foreign, and particularly of American, monopolies. To-day in the state machinery of the USA the influence of those capitalist monopolies which contributed to the preparation and the outbreak of the Second World War is making itself ever more strongly felt.

The Paris Agreements show that the ruling circles in certain States, particularly the USA, are counting to-day on the rebirth of German mili-

tarism, and are attempting to rely on the remilitarisation of West Germany in trying to carry out their imperialist plans.

These agreements will create a military block of the aggressive circles of the USA, Great Britain and France together with German militarism. These Agreements are a plot, conspired behind the backs of the German people and the peoples of the other European States, who were not consulted in any way during the drafting of these Agreements.

This aggressive block cannot serve the interests of peace and security in Europe. The creation of this block makes the entire situation in Europe more critical, and increases greatly the danger of a new world war.

The creation of the new military block is contrary to the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Assistance of 1944, and the British-Soviet Treaty of 1942 on cooperation and military aid after the war — treaties which lay down that France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union should take joint measures in order to make impossible a new aggression on the part of German militarism. It is contrary to international agreements concluded by states participating in this Conference and by other states; agreements aimed at guaranteeing peace and security for all states in Europe. The remilitarisation of West Germany and its inclusion in a military grouping cannot be reconciled with the international pledges for the prevention of a rebirth German militarism which were entered into in the Potsdam Agreement by the USA, Great Britain and later by France. This breach of obligations which the USA, Great Britain and France took upon themselves in these agreements and treaties undermines confidence in mutual relations between the States and is irreconcilably opposed to the interests of the security of the peoples of Europe.

It is claimed that the formation of this new military grouping is allegedly necessary for the security of the states participating in this block, although in reality nobody menaces these states. An attempt is made to justify the remilitarisation of West Germany and its inclusion in the military grouping formed by several Western countries by claiming that it is necessary to proceed "from a position of strength" in dealing with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. It is claimed that this policy would contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for negotiations and for the settlement of unsolved international problems. The supporters of this policy which has already discredited itself, do not attempt to conceal the fact that they would like to impose upon other states solutions which are favourable to the interests of the imperialist circles of certain Western Powers. In reality this shows the aims of world domination entertained by these circles. It should not be forgotten where people who attempt world mastery end.

As is well known, there existed in the past military groupings of certain European states which were aimed against other European states. On the eve of the Second World War an aggressive military group was formed by Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy, joined by militaristic Japan. The organisers of this group, which was known under the title of "Anti-

Comintern Pact" attempted to motivate the establishment of this group with "ideological" reasons.

In reality, however, this was the camouflage which they attempted to throw over the real aggressive character of this military block, which had set itself the aim of world domination.

As is well known the organisers of this militaristic grouping were mainly responsible for the unleashing of the Second World War.

Something similar is going on to-day when the organisers of this new military grouping attempt to justify its establishment by pointing to the different social systems in different states. Their declarations contain, however, just as little truth as the declarations issued by the initiators of the "Anti-Comintern Pact", who used this Pact in order to prepare and unleash the last world war.

All this goes to show that the military grouping of a few Western States with the participation of a remilitarised West Germany, whatever reasons may be given for its formation, not only cannot serve the cause of peace and security in Europe, but seriously complicates the situation in Europe and unavoidably brings about an increase in competitive armament with all the dangerous results which this entails for all European, and not only for European states.

When on the side of the military grouping in Europe already named, the armies, the airforces and other armaments are increased, and when aggressive German militarism is rebuilt, then the other states in Europe will be unavoidably driven to take effective steps for their own defence and to prevent an attack. Thus all states interested in preserving peace and security in Europe must strive to prevent a rebuilding of German militarism, to avoid the possibility of a forced arms race, and to contribute to uniting the efforts of all European states to preserve security in Europe.

Recognising that the solution of the German question is the main task in securing peace in Europe, the governments of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Albanian People's Republic believe that for the solution of the German problem the following are above all necessary:

The renunciation of the plans to remilitarise West Germany and to include it in military groupings, this would remove the main obstacle to the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis.

An agreement on the holding of all-German free elections in 1955 and the formation on the basis of these elections of an All-German Government of a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany.

After this the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, which is necessary for securing peace in Europe, will finally become possible.

It must be recognised that the withdrawal of occupation troops from the territory of East and West Germany, as proposed by the Soviet Union,

would contribute in a considerable degree to bringing together both parts of Germany and to the solution of the problem of the restoration of German unity.

The guaranteeing of peace in Europe demands that the states interested should reach an agreement on the question of the unification of Germany which accords with the interests of all peace-loving people in Europe and with the interests of the German people themselves. The policy followed by the USA, France and Great Britain, the policy of remilitarising West Germany and including it in military groupings, excludes the possibility of reaching such an agreement. This policy not only does not serve to ensure European security, but is, in the eyes of all peace-loving peoples, the expression of a policy which endangers peace in Europe.

Real security can only be ensured in Europe when, instead of close military groupings of European states facing each other, a system of collective security in Europe is created. This security system, based upon the participation of all European states, without regard for their social and state system, would make it possible to unite the efforts of the European states in the interests of ensuring peace in Europe. Naturally the participation of the German people on an equal basis must be ensured in the solution of this all-European task.

The USA, together with the other states which bear the responsibility for the settlement of the German question, which is of decisive importance to ensure peace in Europe, could take part in such a system of collective security.

The all-European system of collective security must envisage that all states participating should pledge themselves to settle all causes of dissension which might arise between them according to the stipulations of the Charter of the United Nations, in such a manner that peace and security in Europe are not endangered.

This system must lay down that at any time when, according to one of the participants, there is the danger of an armed attack in Europe, consultations must be held, in order that effective measures may be taken to counter such a danger. In order that this system should be effective it must lay down that an attack on one or more states in Europe will be regarded as an attack on all participants in such an all-European Treaty, and that every participant shall give the state which is attacked all support in its power, including armed assistance, in order to restore and preserve peace and security in Europe.

The creation of such an all-European system of collective security would meet fully the necessity for strengthening international cooperation in accordance with the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of large and small nations, and of non-intervention in their internal affairs.

The creation of such a system of collective security would greatly facilitate the solution of the German problem, since it would make the

conversion of West Germany into a militarist state impossible, and would create favourable conditions for the restoration of German unity.

The organisation of collective security in Europe and the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis — this is the path which will ensure the development of Germany as one of the Great Powers. In contrast to the militarist path which Germany took in the past and which repeatedly led to the most serious consequences for the German nation, the reunification of Germany, under the conditions of the creation of collective security in Europe, would offer broad opportunities for the expansion of the German peace economy, industry and agriculture, for the development of extensive economic links between Germany and other countries, particularly of Eastern Europe and the countries of Asia with their enormous populations and their inexhaustible resources. The development of Germany under conditions of peace and with the retention of the already existing economic links between Germany and other states would open up broad markets for German industry, would ensure work for the population, and would contribute to the raising of the standard of living.

The future of Germany as a Great Power is thus intimately linked with the question as to whether it will take the path of peaceful development and cooperation with all other European states, or the path of preparation for a new war. The path of peaceful development and international cooperation taken by the German Democratic Republic leads to a rebirth of Germany and its prosperity. The other path, along which the German militarists wish to steer West Germany, leads to a new war and thus to the conversion of West Germany into a zone of fire and destruction.

All this shows that the true national interests of the German people are inextricably bound up with the interests of peace and the creation of an effective system of collective security in Europe. The states participating in this Conference unreservedly recognise the principles formulated by the Government of the USSR in its draft for "An All-European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe" and appeal to all European states to examine together these principles which accord with the needs of ensuring lasting peace in Europe. They declare their readiness to discuss any other proposals on this subject with a view to working out a draft treaty on European security acceptable to all states interested.

The participants in this Conference are deeply convinced that security in Europe, based upon the principles outlined above and strengthened by friendly relations between the States of Europe, would make it possible to bring to an end a state of affairs by which Europe is periodically plagued by frightful wars which inflict immeasurable sufferings upon the European peoples.

In the coming period the discussion on the ratification of the Paris agreements will take place in the Parliaments of various Western states. The official circles of certain states are steadily increasing their pressure on the Parliaments and on public opinion in order to achieve the ratification of these treaties.

The governments of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Albanian People's Republic believe it to be their duty in this connection to draw the attention of all European states, and particularly the signatories of the Paris agreements, to the fact that the ratification of these Agreements will be an act aimed against the maintenance of peace and aimed at the preparation of a new war in Europe. Ratification will considerably complicate the situation in Europe and will undermine the possibility of settling the unsolved European problems, and particularly the German question.

The ratification and putting into effect of these agreements, which increase the danger of war, will threaten the national security of the peace-loving states of Europe and particularly the neighbours of Germany.

This danger arises from the fact that the signatories of the Paris Agreements continually develop their military and economic measures against the peace-loving states in Europe. Now they have gone so far that they have formed a military block with German militarism, that they are carrying out with their own hands the remilitarisation of West Germany, and that they threaten the future peaceful existence of those states not participating in their military grouping. The armed forces of the signatories of the Paris Agreements will now include the West German Army, headed by Hitlerite generals. Under these circumstances the further implementation of the "policy of strength" will be directly based upon restored German militarism, which will bring the danger of war in Europe much nearer.

The situation thus created places upon the agenda the unification of the efforts of the States participating in this Conference to ensure their security. The peace-loving states are forced to take without delay measures to oppose the united forces of the peaceloving states to the aggressive forces of the military block of the Western Powers mentioned above.

The participants in this Conference announce their decision that in the case of the ratification of the Paris Agreements they will take joint measures in the organisation of their armed forces and commands, and also other measures necessary for the strengthening of their defence abilities, to defend the peaceful work of their people, to guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and sovereign territory, and their defence against any possible aggression.

All these measures accord with the immutable right of the state to defend itself, with the United Nations Charter, and with the treaties and agreements concluded at an earlier date which are aimed against a revival of German militarism and the prevention of a new aggression in Europe.

The states participating in this Conference have agreed that if the Paris Agreements are ratified, they will consider the situation once again in order to take the necessary measures to ensure their security and the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The states participating in this Conference are firmly determined to press in the future for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe, since they are convinced that only the joint efforts of the European states can provide the basis for a long-lasting peace in Europe. For this purpose they will also be ready in the future to cooperate with other European states, which express the wish to take this path.

The governments of the states participating in the Moscow Conference of European countries for guaranteeing peace and security in Europe are deeply convinced that their policy for securing peace and general security and the measures foreseen at this Conference accord with the interests of our peoples and the interests of all other peace-loving peoples.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and the German Democratic Republic are engaged in their work of peaceful construction. Their efforts are aimed at a further growth in the economy and in culture, the steady raising of the living standards of the working people and at the same time the provision of a reliable protection for their great socialist achievements. There is no power in the world capable of turning back the wheel of history and interrupting the building of socialism in our countries.

The peoples of our states recognised that the Paris Agreements considerably increase the danger of a new war. They will not allow themselves to be caught unprepared by events.

Our peoples know their strength and their inexhaustible possibilities. Never before were the forces peace and socialism so mighty and united as to-day. Every attempt at attack, every attempt to unleash a war and to disturb the peaceful life of our peoples will meet an annihilating defence. In this case our peoples, with the sympathy and the support of the other peoples, would do everything to destroy the forces of aggression so that our just cause may be triumphant.

Our peoples wish to live in peace and to maintain friendly relations with all other peoples. For this reason they will continue to defend in every way the cause of peace and general security, and to do everything necessary to ensure their further peaceful development and the necessary security of their states.

Moscow, December 2nd 1954

The Declaration was signed:

For the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics: V. M. Molotov,
For the Polish Republic: J. Cyrankiewicz,
For the Czechoslovak Republic: V. Siroky,
For the German Democratic Republic: O. Grotewohl,
For the Hungarian People's Republic: A. Hegedüs,
For the Rumanian People's Republic: C. Stoica,
For the Bulgarian People's Republic: A. Yugoff,
For the Albanian People's Republic: M. Muftiu.

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Corrections:

Page 18, line 16 read "70,000" instead of "10,000".
Page 21, line 9 read "F N 30" instead of "F T 30".
Page 52, line 1 read "former West German Ambassador".
Page 79, read "Flick" instead of "Frick".
Page 152, read "and its command" instead of "commands".

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